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GERMANY'S POLITICAL TURNING-POINT.

BY WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

For years past Germany's policy, domestic and foreign, has been vacillating. It has now arrived at a point where irresolution becomes impossible. There must be decision, and there must be a break with the past. She must change her foreign policy, and she must modify her fiscal policy. The Dreibund is crumbling before our very eyes, and the important tariff bill now before the Reichstag is a clinching proof that Germany intends to alter her policy in that respect. Count von Bülow's recent declarations before the Reichstag showed, as plainly as the words of a statesman of purely diplomatic training can do, that reliance is no longer placed on the international confederation composed of Germany, Austria, and Italy; and these declarations have been so understood by the entire German press. The Kaiser's advances during the last few years both to this country and to England, of which the mission of his brother, Prince Henry, is but the latest and most striking illustration, clearly point out the direction which he means to give to Germany's foreign policy in the near future.

In the chapter of Bismarck's Memoirs which is devoted to a discussion of the genesis and the probable duration of the Dreibund, the matter is treated without any reserve. Bismarck there makes it plain that the understanding with Austria was based,

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primarily, on the assumption that a war with Russia was likely to come, not one with France; and the admission of Italy was designed to vouchsafe that country and Germany against French aggression. That Bismarck, when he wrote that chapter, not long before his death, had begun to have strong misgivings as to the intrinsic and lasting force of this tripartite agreement, is evident from the concluding paragraph, in which he says:

"The Triple Alliance is a strategic position which, in view of the dangers threatening at the time of its conclusion, was advisable, and was the best that could be attained under existing circumstances. It has from time to time been prolonged, and we may succeed in prolonging it again; but no lasting treaty of this kind is possible between great Powers, and it would be unwise to regard it as a secure foundation for every kind of possibility, which may change in the days to come the conditions, needs, and sentiments which once made it possible."

He winds up with a sceptical expression of even a more decided cast. Since Bismarck's death, conditions have altered more rapidly than could have been foreseen then. Russia under Nicholas II. has become eminently peaceful. The Panslavic movement has been arrested. More friendly relations than existed for fifty years past have been established between Russia and Austria. There is no longer any fear on Austria's part of Russian aggression. For Austria, then, the reason which controlled her in becoming a member of the Dreibund no longer exists. On the other hand, Austrian internal politics have simultaneously changed in a manner more and more hostile, or at least more averse, to the alliance with Germany. The Czechs, the Poles in Galicia, and all the other Slavic populations of the polyglot empire, have gained political ascendency; they have been, from the first, opponents of the Dreibund, and they are more opposed to it now than ever. The Polish question in Prussia has of late greatly embittered the Poles against Germany, which they regard as a persecutor of their race. The pending German tariff bill adds new fuel to this feeling. In Italy, the situation is similar. Italy no longer fears French hostility, and the recent Italian naval demonstration in French harbors was intended and accepted as an outward sign of mutual good-will. The long Franco-Italian tariff war is over, and an amiable understanding between the two nations as to the Mediterranean question, and as to Tunis and Tripoli, has removed the last inflammable material. Therewith the chief reason which

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induced Italy to join the Dreibund has disappeared, and she, too, looks upon the proposed German tariff legislation as inimical to her fiscal interests. The alliance with Austria was always unpopular in Italy because of the *Italia Irredenta* movement, which was handicapped under Dreibund auspices; and of late the Francophiles, always a large and very influential part of the nation, have gained enormously in Italy.

In a word, then, so far as the other two members of the Dreibund are concerned, no important reason obtains any longer for their remaining in it; and a number of important reasons tell against the further continuance of this alliance. But for Germany, too, several potent factors have come to the surface which make against the Dreibund as the pivotal point of Germany's foreign policy. The chief one, perhaps, is the military weakening of both Austria and Italy, whose resources, in the event of a future big war, both on land and sea, are, relatively speaking, much smaller now than when the Dreibund was formed. Aside from that, however, with her taking a front place as a "World Power," Germany has had to reckon, and will have in future to reckon, with other Powers which are strong in commerce, in colonies, and in naval force, these being England and the United States. Neither Austria nor Italy has been in a condition, or willing, to further Germany's vital interests as a sea-power, and as an expansive, commercial and colonial empire. With France and Russia more closely than ever allied in Europe and abroad, and with Germany's inability to attain to the rank of the first naval power, it is manifestly her interest to put herself not only on a thoroughly friendly footing, but on terms of intimate friendship, if not on those of a formal alliance, with the only two powers that are, so to speak, open to such an engagement. This would not mean that Germany would entirely relinquish her long-continued friendship with Italy and Austria. As far as she is able to do so she will tenderly nurse those good relations; but the character and importance of them, nevertheless, will undergo, has even now undergone, a very great change. They will henceforth be of secondary consideration, and by no means the determining factor in her foreign policy.

Now, as to England, the anomaly is presented that, while the German Emperor and his government are anxious to tighten the political affiliations with that country, and while, particularly,

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the Kaiser's strong sympathies and desires go out in that direction, the overwhelming public opinion of Germany is averse to this. It is within the truth to say that a sentiment of downright, bitter hostility, of a strength seldom equalled in his usually placid bosom, rages in the breast of the average German against his English cousin at the present moment. Sentiment counts for something in that. The war against the Boer republics has all along been strongly condemned in Germany, largely for sentimental reasons; and that feeling has been so widespread and powerful that even the Kaiser, on one or two occasions, and the Imperial Chancellor, had to take it into account. Other sentimental reasons lying farther back there also are; and there is, besides, the fact that England for a time took a somewhat unfriendly attitude towards Germany's colonial aspirations, and that England has been Germany's chief commercial rival, and not always a generous or fair one. At any rate, there is no doubt that an Anglophile foreign policy is just now unpopular with the larger, and the politically dominant, part of the German people. The Liberal political parties in Germany, who traditionally favor such a policy, are not the determining factors in her political life.

But, while all this is true, it does not mean that a foreign policy friendly to England is impossible in Germany, even at this moment. For the Kaiser practically shapes her foreign policy. The Imperial Chancellors since Bismarck's retirement have, virtually, merely carried out their imperial master's behests, and have vouchsafed only that measure of explanation to the Reichstag and Bundesrath, for the steps taken or decided upon in Germany's relations with other countries, which they saw fit and considered safe. It is idle to discuss here the question whether this is in strict consonance with the constitution of the Empire. Certain it is, that such has been the unvarying practice since the Kaiser, twelve years ago, took hold of the helm himself and became, to use Bismarck's expression, his own Chancellor. And that the Kaiser is strongly in favor of an Anglophile foreign policy, there is not the shadow of a doubt.

As to the United States, things in a measure are similar. When the war with Spain broke out, in the spring of 1898, the German people violently, and almost altogether for sentimental reasons, sided with Spain; indeed, until the close of that war, the torrent of popular abuse of the United States flowed as fiercely and was

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fed from as many sources as that which is now directed against England. The German government, however, took a consistently friendly attitude toward the United States—a fact which recent publications have brought out clearly. This, it may be admitted here, was due at first more to Count von Bülow—then still Secretary of Foreign Affairs under Prince Hohenlohe—than to the Kaiser personally, whose sympathies for a time rather leaned to Spain. But the Kaiser is, after all, Bismarck's pupil, and as such he considers concrete facts as of paramount importance. He quickly came to see that the United States was bound to be victorious, that Spain represented a lost cause, and that the United States would emerge from the war much stronger and more ambitious than ever, and become a new and leading factor in the process of reshaping the world. He saw clearly that Germany's interests bade her remain the best of friends with the United States; and, once he had recognized this, he frankly and without reserve accepted the new situation, and shaped his policy accordingly. The relentless force of logic told him that the closer Germany's relations became with the great American republic, the better chance would there be for a friendly understanding with it at all those points where its new political or commercial interests might clash with those of Germany. His foresight has since been proven true in the settlement of the Samoa difficulty, in the acquisition of the Carolines, and during the recent troubles in China.

In his political calculations, he took into account the policy of expansion to which the dominant party in this country stands committed, and he has since given adherence to the American definition of the Monroe Doctrine. Is he sincere in this? Has Germany absolutely relinquished those old, but never more than half-formed, designs upon West Indian and South American territory? Does Germany consider herself bound, under all circumstances, to abide by that interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine which rests, not so much upon the vigorous yet withal conservative enunciation quite recently made by President Roosevelt, as upon that somewhat hazy yet tangible and more far-reaching idea of it held by the larger half of the American people? Time alone will show. At any rate, neither the Kaiser, nor the German government, nor the even more important public opinion of Germany, any longer defines the Monroe Doctrine as Bismarck did in my hearing, on May 26th, 1898 (two months before his death),

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as "a species of arrogance peculiarly American and quite inexcusable." True, the Pan-Germans and the colonial enthusiasts in Germany continue to rail against this "species of arrogance"; and in a late issue of the leading German colonial organ, the "*Koloniale Zeitschrift*," Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid declaims against it and against the alleged, unholy designs of the United States upon South and Central America, and calls upon Count von Bülow to quicken the pace of German colonization in South Brazil and Argentina. But he and his kind do not influence the German foreign policy. There is no manner of doubt that Germany—Kaiser, government, and people—is at present honestly desirous of close and friendly relations with the United States.

Apparently at variance with this statement is the fact that there is now before the Reichstag, after approval by both the imperial government and the Bundesrath, a tariff bill whose provisions, so far as the more important agricultural and industrial articles of import are concerned, are evidently largely aimed at the United States. Yet only apparently. For one thing, this bill is by no means sure of passage; and then—and that is the main point—the Kaiser and the government can hardly help themselves. In other words, the Agrarian Party, so-called, which is the *spiritus rector* of this highly important tariff measure, has government and Kaiser by the throat. I am aware that this sounds like a paradox, after what has been said about the Kaiser's controlling influence upon the foreign policy of the Empire. But it is, nevertheless, true. And that needs some explanation.

The party which for want of a better name is called the Agrarian Party in Germany is, politically considered, made up of the entire Conservative faction—nearly the whole Centre (or Ultramontane Party), the small Antisemite faction, the German Husbandry Federation, and the small Yeomen's League, besides a number of representatives of the Polish, the Guelph, and the Alsatian factions. This statement carries the reader right into the midst of German petty factional strife; and, to make my meaning more plain, let me put it in this way: The Agrarian Party is made up of the representatives of the landed proprietors of Germany in the Reichstag. Out of a total of 397 members of that body, they claim to have over 200 on their side, enough to carry the bill. Inasmuch, however, as the bill, if passed at all in the Reichstag, will be considerably amended, it must go back

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to the Bundesrath for approval. It is quite safe to say that that body will not ratify the bill in its altered form, in which case the measure will have miscarried. A new bill will then have to be prepared by the government and the Bundesrath, to be in turn submitted to a Reichstag, either the same one, or, if the present one be dissolved and new general elections ordered, the new one; and the new one would be sure to be, in view of the unmistakable temper of the electors, very different in its composition. Thus it will be seen that the fate of this bill is, at best, very uncertain, and that before there is any chance of its becoming a law both government and Bundesrath, and the nation at large, will have considerable time for reflection and sober second thought.

The reasons for the introduction of this tariff bill are complex. Between 1892 and 1894, a number of important commercial treaties were concluded by Germany, at the instance of Count Caprivi, Bismarck's successor, with some of her chief customers, viz., Austria, Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Roumania. The United States had to be left out of this list, because, like France (by the Treaty of Frankfort-on-Main), the United States shared, under the most-favored-nation clause of the treaty of 1828 with Prussia, at once and without any intervening negotiations, in all the benefits and tariff reductions which these new treaty nations had acquired, on the principle of give-and-take, by these special agreements with Germany. Now, the agriculturists of Germany, but especially the large and influential landed proprietors, claim that these commercial treaties, which will expire on December 31st, 1903, have done them incalculable harm, not alone because they have brought into the country the cheaper agricultural products of the new treaty states, but more particularly because they have admitted, on the same terms, the even cheaper ones of the United States, without corresponding benefits from the latter. And, in a measure, this is true. Of course, under the treaty of 1828, the position of the United States in this matter has been impregnable; and how largely this country has profited from the chances thus afforded for a much larger trade with Germany, the ever-increasing balance of trade in favor of the United States has shown year after year. According to German official statistics, this country sold to Germany in 1900-01 nearly three times the amount it took—a proportion vastly greater to Germany's disadvantage than was the case with any other country that the Empire

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had dealings with. Agricultural conditions in Germany (and more especially in the eastern provinces of Prussia, where large estates are the rule, not the exception, as in the western provinces and in South Germany), have grown steadily worse since the commercial treaties of 1892-94 went into effect; and many titled estate-holders had to abandon their paternal acres, impoverished and embittered. It is true, on the other hand, that these same commercial treaties have been the chief means of increasing German industries and commerce, and the unparalleled rise of the Empire as an exporting centre has been due to them.

Now, one view of the matter is, that Germany has become a country where industry and commerce predominate; that she is passing through an agricultural crisis similar to that through which England passed several decades ago, and for similar reasons; and that, inasmuch as the industrial and commercial interests of the country have now become the paramount ones, and three-fifths of her total population (as the imperial census of 1895 showed) are now engaged in industrial or commercial pursuits, the interests of the larger part of the nation must rule, that low-priced foodstuffs are of the first importance to this majority, and that this view must prevail, even if agriculture suffers. That, of course, is the view taken by the industrial and commercial classes, who fear the ruin of Germany's young industries if the bill should become law; and it is also the view of the laboring masses. But there is still another view, and its adherents are both numerous and influential. They argue that, after all, agriculture is the backbone of a nation, and that, with that backbone broken, the country, impotent to nourish its own people, with foes all around, would be at the mercy of its neighbors and enemies, a ready prey in war. They further argue that Germany draws from the small but traditionally powerful class of her landed and titled proprietors the brain and brawn of her army, of her whole governmental machine, the larger part of her legislators, and the *personnel* of the imperial court and of the courts of all her smaller sovereign rulers. This latter view is held, too, by the Kaiser, by Count von Bülow, by Count Posadowsky, and probably by nine-tenths of all the persons with whom the Kaiser comes in contact. Add to this that the papers which support the Agrarian cause skilfully and unceasingly are the only German papers that the Kaiser reads, and that that part of the press has persistently

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and with great cunning waged a campaign of calumny against the United States, and it will readily be seen how powerful is the cause of Agrarianism in Germany, and above all in Prussia.

The Agrarians believe that their hour is come, that they can force this greatly amended bill through to suit their wishes, and that they can make the Kaiser and the Bundesrath accept it. In this they are, nevertheless, probably mistaken; but that they hold an unusually strong position there is no doubt. The negotiations between Germany and the United States, which were carried on for a number of years past, mostly in Washington, in a desultory way, came to nothing, presumably because the United States was quite satisfied with the existing state of affairs, which gave her, without lifting a finger or incurring the slightest sacrifice, all and more than she could obtain by special treaty. The Agrarians now hope to do away entirely, by means of this bill, with American competition, and thus restore their old-time prosperity. Of course, they are bitterly opposed to any such close *entente* with the United States as the Kaiser and the larger part of the nation dream of. How the Kaiser will finally get out of this predicament is matter of conjecture. The effort to disentangle him will test the justice of Count von Bülow's claim to the name of statesman.

There is, however, still another consideration which makes the Kaiser, his government, and a number of the sovereign rulers of the other German states, so willing to show favor to the Agrarian claims; and that is the belief that they, composed largely of the landed nobility of the Empire, are the main bulwark against the rising flood of socialism, against revolution, against the designs, as they believe, of the proletarian rabble to upset throne and altar and to plunge the country into bloody civil strife. This faith—which, of course, the Agrarian press and party do everything in their power to foster—strengthens the Agrarian hold upon a large and misguided part of the upper middle-class as well. And by pressing this argument, the Agrarian press has succeeded in beclouding many minds and in befogging the real issues.

There is a strong probability that, if the majority of these mortgage-ridden lords of the soil, who are now putting all the blame for their gradual impoverishment upon the competition of the United States, were to give up their careless and spendthrift mode of living, their haphazard methods of managing their estates, and to introduce rigid economy, modern methods of tilling the

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soil, and give their undivided attention to agriculture, they might succeed within a number of years in putting their estates on a paying basis, without much aid from the government. But they find it easier and pleasanter, of course, to get government help in the shape of higher import duties on all agricultural products, larger internal taxes on beet-sugar and spirits, and bigger export bounties on both. Besides, land for agricultural purposes is to-day too high in Germany, and estates seldom yield more than from two and a half to four per cent., after all expenses and the interest on the mortgages and floating debts have been paid.

Of special interest is the growth of Socialism as a political factor in Germany. It must be borne in mind that Germany is the birthplace of Socialism, and that it has attained a higher development there than anywhere else. First, as to its numerical development. In 1877, the Socialists cast 493,000 votes at the Reichstag elections, as against the Centre's 1,341,000, for instance, and against the National Liberals' 1,463,000. In 1878 and 1879, owing to Bismarck's repressive measures, the Socialist vote dropped to 312,000. But from that time until the last general election, that of 1898, the Socialist vote rose steadily and rapidly, and in 1898 it attained to 2,107,000, while the vote of all the other parties gradually went down, and to-day some of these parties poll barely one-fourth of their former strength. The Socialists to-day are, in point of numbers, by far the largest party; and at the next election they will reach the two-million-and-a-half mark, and possibly exceed it. But even in 1898, when the total vote was something above seven millions, they represented two-sevenths of it. The National Liberal Party, for many years the strongest and most influential one, to-day represents but half the voting strength of the Socialists. And it must be remembered that this phenomenal growth has been brought about in the teeth of all the repression to which existing laws would lend themselves, and despite all the disadvantages in life to which, in a country like Germany, the Socialist cohorts are subject. It is a curious record, and it becomes intelligible only if the circumstances which led up to it are understood.

Let it be said, then, that Germany is a country where legislation is class legislation in a unique degree. This is a strong charge to make against a country otherwise so enlightened as Germany. But the charge is amply borne out by the facts. Be-

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fore going into that, however, one or two other things may be referred to. The political development of Germany, and to a minor degree her social and commercial development, have brought it about that the "fourth estate"—the laboring man, the mechanic, the small shop-keeper, the farm-hand—has never been able to acquire what the same class of the population has acquired in France since the great Revolution, in England during the course of the nineteenth century, on social and political lines, and what has been the birthright of every man in the great American Republic since its foundation. The only revolution that ever took place in Germany, that of 1848-49, proceeded from the middle-classes, and had purely political reform for its aim. It lasted, besides, too short a time, and was not successful in the end. When its waves had rolled back, things returned much to their old level. Thus it was that the status of the lower classes, and of the poorer middle-classes, had virtually not changed when Lassalle and Marx and the other earlier Socialist leaders began to make their appeals to the "proletariat"; and, excepting the political and social awakening for which the Socialist Party is responsible in Germany, there has come no other to the masses of the lower strata. They are still, even where the leaven of Socialism has worked, rather behind their fellows in countries more favored politically, so far as self-respect, maturity of convictions, and sturdy independence are concerned.

These reasons alone explain, to some extent, the remarkable rise of Socialism as a political power in Germany, But there is, as pointed out above, the further fact that legislation there, more than elsewhere, is class legislation, and that the poorer classes, from which, of course, the Socialist army mainly recruits itself, are in many ways discriminated against. This fact obtrudes itself upon every impartial observer in Germany, and it is this which gives the Socialist agitator most of his ammunition. For proof of this claim, one has not far to go. Take, for example, the tax question. The German imperial budget for 1898-99 was 4,980,000,000 marks, or about 1200 million dollars. Of this sum 14 per cent. went to the army and 10 per cent. to the navy. About twenty dollars *per capita* is what the German imperial government required. This, be it noted, does not include all the taxes raised by the separate states, towns, and provinces for their own support. Of course, the laboring population has to pay its full share for

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the support of both navy and army, about seventy-three out of every hundred serving belonging to that class. Now, where does a large part of the taxes come from? The tax and revenue system in Germany seems to be gotten up so as to lie with crushing force upon the weary backs of the poor. As witness these German official figures for 1900-01: The whole sum from import duties for 1901 is 478,978,000 marks. Of this the duty on cereals was 131,557,000 marks; on petroleum, 70,913,000; on coffee, 64,503,-000; on lard, 12,540,000; on cotton, yarn and finished, 8,804,000; on meats, 8,459,000; on rice, 5,365,000; on salt herrings, 3,045,-000; on cheese, 2,991,000; on tea, 2,856,000; on eggs, 2,793,000; on cattle and sheep, 2,666,000; on butter and margarine, 2,608,-000; on table fats, 2,382,000, &c. It will be noticed that these articles, which are so greatly enhanced in price in Germany by high duties, are all articles for the poor man's consumption. Then, as to the internal revenue taxes. Three of the principal ones, viz., on tobacco, sugar, and on salt, and the tax on home-made spirituous liquors, figure in the returns for 1901, respectively, as 11,960,000 marks, 111,380,000, and 48,943,000; and liquor, which is twice taxed for internal consumption, is put down as 109,768,000 and 18,087,000, while the brewing tax amounts to 31,136,000. The government which thus raises the price of nearly every foodstuff the poor require, encourages the distiller (who is nearly always owner of a big rural estate) in every possible way.

This record of sins of commission and omission on the part of the German government towards the lower classes, could be greatly lengthened by speaking of the anti-strike laws; of the manner in which justice is habitually strained to the injury of the poor; of the shame and anomaly of the *lèse majesté* trials; of the laws in large districts of Germany which render marriage difficult for the poor man (and resulting, for instance, in Bavaria in the enormous illegitimate birth-rate of twenty-six out of every hundred); of the practical denial of the constitutional "right of association"; of the police practices of enforcing antiquated contract laws in a one-sided manner against the rural and city laborer, &c. But the above will suffice to illustrate the point.

The Polish question in Prussia has of late again become acute. It will continue to vex not alone Prussia but Germany as a whole, and it is exerting a seriously disturbing influence upon the foreign policy of the Empire. No doubt, the largely Polish provinces of

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Prussia—Posen, West and East Prussia—are now in every way, material, intellectual, and social, in a much better condition than when they still formed part of Poland; and the gradual rise of a "third estate," of a middle-class, the want of which probably contributed more to the downfall of Poland than any other single factor, is wholly due to Prussia's wise administrative measures and to compulsory education. But the two and a half millions of Poles dwelling under Prussian rule, have not ceased to think of themselves as Poles, and their race and religious hatred of their masters has in nowise abated. Nor have their aspirations for national independence and for a regeneration of Poland. Their methods in resisting the process of amalgamation have been effectively systematized, so much so that, in spite of the severe measures of the Prussian government, and despite the lavish use of the so-called colonization fund, now amounting to a round 100,000,000 marks—one of Bismarck's latest schemes to stem the Polish tide—the Poles during the last ten years have begun to recover a good deal of lost ground, and are successfully forging Posen, parts of the other two provinces, and the eastern portion of Silesia, into a homogeneous Polish whole. The Poles in Prussia look longingly across the Austrian frontier, where their brethren in Galicia have been granted autonomy, and across even the Russian border, where they are the intellectual superiors of their Muscovite fellows, and conspire more or less openly in the sense indicated. There is no intention of immediate revolution, but they are biding their time, cautioned by past failures; and, in the meanwhile, they are knitting together, more and more closely, the bonds of race between the three fragments into which they were rent.

The enormous decrease of political Liberalism in Germany, which has been one of the most marked symptoms of the past decade, is that feature in the political life of the young Empire which fills the friend of Germany with deepest sorrow and with direst forebodings. During the sixties, the Liberals were the dominant party, and the government of old Emperor William I. had to reckon with them as a most serious factor. Since then, the National Liberals have gone down from 1,468,600 votes to 971,300, and they have ceased to be Liberals in the political sense of that word, and now include the most violent jingoes in Germany. The other three Liberal sections, the old Progressive Party,

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the Liberal Association, and the People's Party, have come down to 862,000 votes, combined. All the Liberals elected either to the Reichstag or the Prussian Diet are numerically too weak to undertake a policy of their own, and they lack cohesion and a community of political aims and interests. Thus, they shift about and are barely able, now and then, to defeat a specially obnoxious measure by filibustering tactics; but they cannot create any legislation of their own. Under such dispiriting influences, they have become merely negative. This decrease of Liberalism has occurred since jingoism was injected into German politics, since a blatant and ill-directed greed for colonies took hold of a large part of the nation. Of course, it is too early to surmise what, if anything, will come of those colonial dreams. Riper experience may bring greater wisdom and skill. But it is a fact that Germany's colonies have not thus far proved a blessing to her in any sense. They do not, above all, afford her a channel for her commercial enterprise nor for the surplus of her population, and merely looked at as financial ventures they have proven unmistakable failures. Nevertheless, the present temper of the great majority of the nation is to hold on to the present colonies, and to acquire new ones.

As for the process of welding together the different states of Germany into a more homogeneous entity, that is going on steadily though slowly. The process has already gone to that point where it is safe to say it would take more than one political hurricane to tear the component parts of the Empire asunder again. Germany is now in the full sense of the word a nation, one and indivisible. Nevertheless, the spirit of separatism, always very powerful since the dawn of German history, is still quite strong. It crops out, now and then, when least expected. But it is now a subordinate influence in German political life. Even the Bavarian, who holds most firmly to his idea of a "narrower fatherland," is now an imperialist first. No serious danger threatens Germany's future from that source, once so prolific of internal strife and bitter dissension.

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INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR, AUTHOR OF "INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC LAW."

THE world movement which has for its object the speedy establishment of some kind of a practical working system of international arbitration, has been greatly advanced by the proceedings of the Peace Conference begun at The Hague in 1899, and by those of the Pan-American Conference begun in the City of Mexico in 1901. It is a fortunate circumstance that the last outpost in the march towards the solution of the supreme problem of modern international law, should have been fixed in the capital of a country which stands as a natural mediator between the United States and Latin America. In order to grasp fully the significance of all that has been so far achieved, it is necessary to look backward from that outpost over the immense field traversed before it was reached.

During the last fifty years, international law, as a living and growing organism, has passed through a more marked and rapid development than in any other single epoch in its entire history. Within that time the awakened conscience of the world has drawn the states composing the family of nations into a closer concert, which has been active in its efforts to improve the existing system of international relations, through a re-examination and re-statement of the rules by which they are regulated. On its scientific side, this movement has been promoted by a new school of publicists, representing nearly every nationality, whose tireless investigations into every branch of the subject have assumed the systematic form of corporate thought under the guiding hand of the Institute of International Law. On its practical side, this movement has been applying the fruits of that kind of research and reflection to the solution of the vital questions presented in

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rapid succession to the series of international congresses and conferences begun at Paris in 1856, and ended in the City of Mexico in 1902. When the records of the proceedings of those notable assemblies are read as a connected whole, it is impossible not to hear the outcry for a higher and more stable international life, to be based upon some kind of a code more precise and definite than that embodied in existing rules, and for some kind of an international tribunal with a jurisdiction more comprehensive than that usually vested in voluntary courts of arbitration. Whether or no such an ideal is attainable is purely a tentative question, to be solved only by patient and persistent efforts made in the light of actual experience. The hope of even partial success rests not only upon the Utopian dream that the passions and self-interest of mankind will grow less acute, but upon the fact that, as nations become more perfectly organized, they perceive that stability, comfort, and economy may be promoted by a transition from the reign of arms to the reign of law.

The struggle for the establishment of an international reign of law, the struggle for the subjection of the independent and co-equal sovereignties that constitute the family of nations to the voluntary yoke of legality, began with the wreck of that strange creation known as the Holy Roman or Mediæval Empire, which rested upon the magnificent notion of a vast Christian Monarchy whose sway was absolutely universal. The chiefs of that comprehensive society were the Roman Emperor and the Roman Pontiff, the one standing at its head in its temporal character as an empire, the other standing at its head in its spiritual character as a church. The highest aspiration of the Pope in his struggle with the Emperor was so to establish his supremacy over all princes, including the Emperor himself, as to enable him to offer to Europe the arbitrating power it demanded. Thus it was that the Roman Pontiff assumed the office of supreme judge of appeals in all causes arising in the ecclesiastical courts of Christendom, especially in matrimonial causes involving the validity of a royal marriage, where the result might affect the legitimacy of the issue, and indirectly the peace of the nation. On the other hand, those who, like Dante, maintained the independence of the Empire, and who wished to substitute for the canonical system secular Roman jurisprudence, attempted, when it was too late, to find in its temporal head an international judge and mediator, who, by

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reason of his severance from local associations and interests, might, as *"Imperator Pacificus,"* prevent wars between the states of Europe by hearing complaints and redressing injuries inflicted by sovereigns or peoples on each other. As the direct heir of those who from Julius to Justinian had moulded the jurisprudence of Europe, he was to be not only peace-maker, but the very embodiment of legality and, as such, the expounder of justice and the source of positive law. The very extravagance of such pretensions rendered their realization impossible. The wars which such a dominion was designed to check rather increased than diminished in intensity; the theory of the Empire's political and legal supremacy never ripened into reality. And yet, no matter to what extent the Mediæval Empire may have failed as an international power, whether arbitrating on its spiritual side through the Pope and the canon law, or on its temporal side through the Emperor and the Imperial law, the fact remains that for centuries it was the one bond of cohesion, holding Europe together under the spell of a theory that assumed to provide a complete system of international justice, and a supreme tribunal adequate for the settlement of all controversies which could possibly arise between Christian nations.

Not until the ancient and imposing theory of a common and irresistible superior, as embodied in the Mediæval Empire, was wrecked by the Reformation, did the emancipated nationalities, which had crouched so long at its feet, begin to realize, first, that each state or nation is sovereign and independent, and as such co-equal with all the rest; second, that territory and jurisdiction are co-extensive. After the establishment of that common basis of equality, the difficulty that remained was how to subject sovereign states, through their own volition, to the yoke of legality. No more novel or difficult problem was ever presented for solution than that which confronted the publicists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when they were called upon to furnish rules adequate, by virtue of their intrinsic weight and dignity, to compel the obedience of the freshly emancipated European nationalities, without the coercive force of any recognized central authority. From that day to this, the jurists and statesmen of the world have been striving to complete the vague and imperfect result then reached, by the establishment of some kind of an international tribunal to be armed with the power to define the existing

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system of international rules, and to enforce them against the refractory, through some kind of pressure, moral or legal.

So firmly was the idea fixed in the minds of men that the right to arbitrate between European states was vested in the Mediæval Empire, that Leibnitz, as late as 1693-1700, proposed the Pope and the Emperor of Germany as joint public arbitrators. In 1713, the Abbé St.-Pierre came forward with a project to secure perpetual peace between the European powers, which was circulated shortly after the conference that led to the Peace of Utrecht, at which conference the Abbé was present. The aim of that project, more fully developed in 1729, was to perpetuate the settlement embodied in the treaties of Utrecht through an alliance or league of European states, which should renounce the right of war, and submit their differences to the arbitration of a diet representing twenty votes, three-fourths of which was to be final. In 1786-89 followed the scheme of Jeremy Bentham, in which he undertook to formulate a plan to secure universal and perpetual peace through a league of European states to be governed by laws enacted by a federal legislature, and enforced through a federal judicature. In 1795, that grand conception was recast by Immanuel Kant in his essay "Touching Perpetual Peace," in which he maintained that international law should rest upon a confederation of free states, guaranteeing untrammelled intercommunication through the establishment of a world citizenship, under the direction of a congress to be called and dissolved at the pleasure of the members of the confederation. In 1838, the New York Peace Society, in a petition to the House of Representatives of the United States, proposed a board of international arbitration; and in 1842 James Mill went a step farther, by insisting, in a treatise, that delegates from the several governments should not only constitute an arbitral court, but should formulate a code for its guidance. In order to give practical effect to that idea, David Dudley Field published in 1872 "Outlines of an International Code," defining the constitution of "A High Tribunal of Arbitration"; in 1874, Dr. Goldschmidt drafted a complete code of "Proposed Rules for International Tribunals of Arbitration"; and in 1875 the Institute of International Law, at its meeting at The Hague, adopted a scheme of arbitral procedure. As additional evidence of the growth of the tendency to submit controversies to arbitration, the statement may be made that, according

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to a recent estimate of an eminent authority,—after subtracting numerous cases of mediation, ordinary boundary surveys, domestic commissions, direct treaty settlements, and pure diplomatic negotiations, often improperly included in such estimates,—the whole number of international arbitrations during the last century, exclusive of cases now pending and incomplete, was one hundred and thirty-six. Of these, fifty-seven are credited to the United States; thirty-three to Great Britain; and twelve to France.

Such was the process of evolution through which the increasing effort to establish some kind of a working system of international arbitration had passed, prior to the meeting in May, 1899, of the Peace Conference at The Hague, the results of whose proceedings may mark a turning-point in the international relations of the world, just as the making of the second constitution of the United States marked a turning-point in its political history. The uncritical enthusiasts, who looked upon the framers of that unique federal experiment as demigods and not as men, and who held up their work as a spontaneous creation produced under the effects of intellectual inspiration, unwittingly put upon it the gravest reproach to which it could possibly have been subjected. Just because it was no such thing, it has been able to survive all the trials and vicissitudes through which it has passed. All political history proves that Sir James Mackintosh was right when he said that "constitutions are not made; they grow." Every viable constitution must be the natural outcome of progressive history; it must be the result of the welding together of pre-existing elements just at the moment when such elements are being impelled towards union by their own momentum. Only because the statesmen and publicists who met at The Hague, for the purpose of laying the foundations for a federal constitution for the United States of the World, were guided by that all-important truth, is there any hope whatever that the results of their labors will endure as a permanent and cohesive force.

The original rescript of August 24th, 1898, in which the Emperor of Russia initiated the Peace Conference, was supplemented by a circular letter of Count Mouravieff, dated January 11th, 1899, defining more precisely the several subjects to be submitted for international deliberation. Foremost among such subjects were those involving agreements among the Powers "not

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to increase for a fixed period the present effective of the armed military and naval forces, and at the same time not to increase the budgets pertaining thereto;" "to apply to naval warfare the stipulations of the Geneva Convention of 1864, on the basis of the additional articles of 1868;" "to revise the Declaration concerning the laws and customs of war elaborated in 1874 by the Conference of Brussels, which has remained unratified to the present day;" "to accept in principle the employment of good offices, of mediation and facultative arbitration in cases lending themselves thereto, with the object of preventing armed conflicts between nations." After The Hague had been selected as a meeting place, the Netherlands government, on April 7th, 1899, issued a formal invitation to each of the invited Powers, requesting it "to be good enough to be represented at the above-mentioned conference, in order to discuss the questions indicated in the second Russian circular, as well as all other questions connected with the ideas set forth in the first, excluding, however, from the deliberations everything which refers to the political relations of states, or the order of things established by treaties." In response to that invitation, more than one hundred delegates from twenty-six Powers assembled in the "House in the Woods" on May 18th, 1899, of which Powers twenty were European, four Asiatic, and two American, each Power having one vote. After permanent organization had been completed, President de Staal stated in his opening address: "We shall also undertake in a special manner to generalize and codify the practice of arbitration, of mediation, and of good offices. These ideas constitute, so to speak, the very essence of our task."

It was, certainly, a hopeful sign for the peace of the world when, at a very early stage in the proceedings of an assembly called by the chief of the great empire of the east of Europe, the first plenipotentiary of the great empire of the west, Sir Julian Pauncefote, formally proposed, in a notable *mémoire,* the question of the creation of a permanent court of arbitration. The delegation of the United States submitted at the same time a similar proposition, expressing the desire that arbitration might become a normal method of adjusting international disputes. While the delegation of the German Empire objected, and no doubt wisely, to obligatory or compulsory arbitration, as a step too far in advance of existing conditions, they subsequently expressed the cordial adherence of Germany to an international court of arbi-

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tration, Professor Zorn declaring that his government "fully recognized the importance and the grandeur of the new institution." It is safe to say that all was done that could have been wisely attempted in a meeting necessarily preliminary and tentative. The strength of the Conference was in its patience and moderation. M. Martens, one of the Russian delegates, tells us: "It is a happy token to note, the longer the labors of the Conference at The Hague lasted, the more fully views were exchanged among the representatives of the different Powers, the more pronounced grew the mutual respect, the more friendly grew the personal relations, the more palpable became the desire to do something for the future." How differently the Conference would surely have ended, had there been a premature attempt to force a result for which even the most civilized nations are not yet prepared! Clearly perceiving that the question of questions to be solved was that involved in the construction of just such an arbitral tribunal as would embody the advance so far made in that direction by sovereign states unwilling to bow absolutely to any common superior capable of subjecting them to positive law, the delegates wisely resolved to attempt only a voluntary system of arbitration, depending upon the moral sentiment of the world for coercive authority. As an American member of the Conference has well expressed it: "The only other alternative to a voluntary system of arbitration must necessarily include a sanction, in the shape of an executive power or authority with sufficient force to compel adherence to an agreement for arbitration.... They were careful to leave the sovereignty of each state absolutely unimpaired, and trusted exclusively to the force of public opinion and the public conscience for a sanction to enforce the mandates of the newly established court."* In organizing the Permanent Court upon a purely voluntary basis, the Conference simply systematized and supplemented the results of the world's experience on the subject. Apart from the establishment of the court itself, the two notable additions made were embodied in a definite code of procedure,—the lack of which had been recognized as a serious drawback to international arbitration as early as 1874 by the *Institut de Droit International*,—and in the statement in that code of the principle that "the tribunal is authorized to determine its own jurisdiction."

* Holls. "The Peace Conference at The Hague," p. 356.

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In dealing with the delicate subject before them, the delegates clearly understood that the practical application of international arbitration had been hindered by three obstacles: first, by the necessity of constituting a special court in each particular case; second, by the lack of power in such a court to define its own jurisdiction; third, by the lack of a settled code to regulate its procedure. In the effort to remove the first of these obstacles, the Conference undertook "to organize a Permanent Court of Arbitration accessible at all times, and acting, unless otherwise stipulated by the parties, in accordance with the rules of procedure included in the present convention." In furtherance of that design, it was agreed that "each Signatory Power shall select not more than four persons, of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators. The persons thus selected shall be enrolled as members of the court, upon a list which shall be communicated by the Bureau to all the Signatory Powers." In order to provide the Court with an administrative organ, it was stipulated that "an International Bureau shall be established at The Hague, and shall serve as the record office for the Court. This Bureau shall be the medium of all communications relating to the Court. It shall have the custody of the archives and shall conduct all the administrative business." It was further provided that, "whenever the Signatory Powers wish to have recourse to the Permanent Court for the settlement of a difference that has arisen between them, the arbitrators selected to constitute the Tribunal which shall have jurisdiction to determine such differences, shall be chosen from the general list of members of the Court. If such Arbitral Tribunal be not constituted by special agreement of the parties, it shall be formed in the following manner: Each party shall name two arbitrators, and these together shall choose an umpire. If the votes shall be equal, the choice of the umpire shall be entrusted to a third Power, selected by the parties by common accord. If an agreement is not arrived at on this subject, each party shall select a different Power, and the choice of the umpire shall be made by the united action of the Powers thus selected. The Tribunal being thus constituted, the parties shall communicate to the Bureau their decision to have recourse to the Court, and the names of the arbitrators. The Tribunal of Arbitration shall meet

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at the time fixed by the parties. The members of the Court, in the discharge of their duties, and outside of their own country, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities." It thus appears that the members of the Permanent Court constitute a general staff of judges, under the protection of international law, out of which an arbitral tribunal may be constituted in each particular case by any one of the methods indicated. As stated heretofore, the Conference was careful to leave the resort to arbitration purely voluntary, unless a kind of moral coercion was contemplated by the following provision of Article 27:

"The Signatory Powers consider it their duty in case a serious dispute threatens to break out between two or more of them, to remind these latter that the Permanent Court of Arbitration is open to them. Consequently, they declare that the fact of reminding the parties in controversy of the provisions of the present convention, and the advice given to them, in the higher interests of peace, to have recourse to the Permanent Court, can only be considered as an exercise of good offices."

No invitations to attend the Peace Conference at The Hague were sent to the Holy See or the South African republics; and no delegates came from Central and South American republics. The only American Powers present were the United States of America and Mexico. Mr. Holls says:

"No official explanation of the principle upon which invitations were issued or withheld was given, and any discussion of the causes which led to the exclusion of the South African republics, as well as the Holy See, would have to be based on surmises. The government of the United States regretted the absence of the delegates from the sister republics of Central and South America very sincerely. . . . The American commissioners at The Hague did not fail to remember that, with the exception of the Mexican delegates, they were the sole representatives of the Western Hemisphere, and in the entire course of the Conference, and especially in the discussions in the *Comité d'Examen*, careful efforts were made to safeguard the peculiar interests of Central and South America."

Under such circumstances it is not strange that the delegates of the United States should have qualified their acceptance of Article 27 of the Arbitration Treaty, by the following Declaration:

"Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not entering upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or internal administration of any foreign state, nor shall anything contained in the said convention be so construed as to require

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the relinquishment, by the United States of America, of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

Thus was the Monroe Doctrine first officially communicated to the representatives of all the great Powers in such a way as clearly to indicate to them that, not even in the interest of universal peace, was this government willing to sacrifice any part of that system which rests upon the conviction that "our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should, therefore, have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe." In view of such principles and conditions it was manifestly necessary and proper that all of the American states, Northern, Central, and Southern, should meet together, and, after due deliberation, determine the final form in which they would accede, as a whole, to the humane scheme of peace and good-will embodied in The Hague Conventions.

After President McKinley, in his message to Congress in 1899, declared it expedient that the several American Republics, constituting the International Union, should be invited, at an early date, to hold another conference, in the capital of one of the countries that had not already enjoyed that honor, the Mexican Government promptly accepted the suggestion, and officially invited the states composing the Union to attend a conference to be convened in the City of Mexico, on October 22d, 1901. President Roosevelt, in his message of the following December, said:

"We view with lively interest and keen hopes of beneficial results, the proceedings of the Pan-American Conference, convoked at the invitation of Mexico, and now sitting at the Mexican Capital. The delegates of the United States are under the most liberal instructions to co-operate with their colleagues in all matters promising advantage to the great family of American commonwealths, as well in their relations among themselves, as in their domestic advancement and in their intercourse with the world at large."

Such were the conditions under which assembled, in the Pan-American Conference of 1901, the delegates of the United States of America, of the United States of Brazil, of the United States of Mexico, of the United States of Venezuela, and of the republics of Argentine, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Equador, Guatemala, Hayti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, and

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Uruguay. The first serious difficulty that arose in the body thus constituted grew out of an attempt, made by an influential and aggressive group, to force the adoption of a scheme of compulsory arbitration. But this danger was averted; and the Conference was saved from failure through a compromise, resulting in a general adhesion to The Hague Conventions. The abandonment thus secured of the attempt to establish compulsory arbitration in its wider form, did not, however, deter the delegates from making a subsequent effort to secure the compulsory plan, within a certain narrow sphere. In the original Russian scheme submitted at The Hague, it was proposed that:

"Arbitration shall be obligatory in the following cases, so far as they do not affect the vital interests or the national honor of the contracting states:

"I. In the case of differences or conflicts regarding pecuniary damages suffered by a state or its citizens, in consequence of illegal or negligent action on the part of any state or the citizens of the latter.

"II. In the case of disagreements or conflicts regarding the interpretation or application of treaties or conventions upon the following subjects:

"(1) Treaties concerning postal or telegraphic service and railways, as well as those having for their object the protection of submarine telegraphic cables; rules concerning the means of preventing collisions on the high seas; conventions concerning the navigation of international rivers and interoceanic canals.

"(2) Conventions concerning the protection of literary and artistic property, as well as industrial and proprietary rights (patents, trademarks, and commercial names); conventions regarding monetary affairs, weights, and measures; conventions regarding sanitary affairs and veterinary precautions and measures against the phylloxera.

"(3) Conventions regarding inheritances, extradition, and mutual judicial assistance.

"(4) Boundary conventions or treaties, so far as they concern purely technical, and not political, questions."

After objection had been made to a part of this Russian scheme by the delegates of the United States, it was rejected as a whole upon a motion made by a delegate of the German Empire. The battle thus lost at The Hague in favor of compulsory arbitration, even when limited to the settlement of rights purely legal, as contradistinguished from such as are political, was revived in the Pan-American Conference in the proposal there made for the establishment of an international court of claims. The committee introducing the project said:

"The difficulties at present existing, in the opposition of some of the

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delegations to the conference in the way of negotiation of a general treaty of compulsory arbitration, do not exist in the case of the subject matter of this proposed convention. The questions enumerated in Article I. are independent of those political and social issues which arouse the passions of nations, or which are connected directly with their vital interests. Moreover, these questions are, as a rule, merely of a legal character. It is now proposed to submit such cases to The Hague tribunal in accordance with the tendencies of which this assembly has given such unanimous evidence."

Under the terms of Article I. it is provided that:

"The high contracting parties agree to submit to arbitration all claims for pecuniary loss or damage which may be presented by their respective citizens and which, in accordance with international law, can be submitted through diplomatic channels and cannot amicably be adjusted through such channels, provided such claims exceed the sum of ten thousand dollars in gold; and provided, further, that such claimants shall not have voluntarily served or aided, subsequently to the ratification of this protocol, the enemies of the government against which the claim is presented."

Thus, at last, a beginning has been made, by a considerable group of nations, in their effort to establish compulsory arbitration in reference to the settlement of a certain class of legal claims which should be adjudicated between states as between individuals. If the experiment is successful, as it no doubt will be, the compulsory jurisdiction of The Hague tribunal will, let it be hoped, gradually widen, until everything is embraced within it, except such controversies of a political character as "affect vital interests or the national honor of the contracting states." The Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Mariscal, was therefore justified in declaring at the close of the Pan-American Conference, that it had ended in triumph; and that, as he said:

"That triumph is undoubtedly the unanimous agreement of all the delegations, in spite of their apparently radical divergence as to the application of that great principle, to submit for settlement to the permanent arbitration court of The Hague all controversies that may arise among the governments of America due to the claims of private individuals for indemnities and damages. As those claims, at least in America, and in cases where powerful nations are involved, are without question the most frequent source of international controversies, the importance of this achievement cannot be doubted. When the convention in question once comes into force, those complaints and claims which most inflame the minds of statesmen and embitter international relations will be settled peacefully, in the manner dictated by equity and the highest considerations of expediency."

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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MUSCOVITE DESIGNS ON MANCHURIA.

BY L. MINER.

For half a century, Manchuria has been the Naboth's vineyard upon which Russia has cast covetous eyes. In 1851, Russia obtained possession of "the sparsely populated but widely extended districts of the Amur." Since then she has been watching across the breadth of the continent of Asia for opportunities to creep southward. And at the close of the war between China and Japan, she made a leap toward her goal. Japan's presence in the Liaotung Peninsula was a menace to the balance of power. Therefore, Russia ousted her and took her place! Count Cassini was then Russian Minister in Peking, and soon the world had reason to suspect that something very private but very momentous was going on at the Chinese capital. Russia smilingly denied it at the time; but now, when her right to build railroads in Manchuria and to guard them with soldiers is questioned, she holds up the Cassini Convention, and asks with an air of injured innocence why no objections were raised at the time when the treaty giving the rights in question was made! Li Hung Chang could have given the history of the Cassini Convention. Perhaps, it would have been the history of his own dishonor. These concessions were Russia's reward for "saving" Chinese territory from the clutch of Japan. China's "face" was saved by the promise that the railroad should revert to her after a long term of years, a promise easy to make, as easy to break for the perfidious Muscovite, who determined that long before this term expired the country through which this railroad passes should be as completely Russianized as the territory about St. Petersburg.

These gains were all supposedly commercial, giving Russia the open port on the Pacific which was her "ultimate destiny." Close to this port of Talienwan or Dalny was China's Gibraltar, Port

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Arthur. It had been the pride of the empire previous to its ignominious fall before the Japanese, who unfairly approached it from the rear instead of from its impregnable front! In the winter of 1897-8, Germany acquired her foothold on the coast of Shantung by standing on the graves of two Catholic missionaries. This was the prelude to the disappearance of the dragon-flag from Port Arthur; for soon the symbol of the Russian Empire was floating from its battlements. The transformation was made in a thick cloud of mystery, which, to this day, has not cleared away. Perhaps the historian will never record whether it was force or gold or hypnotism which transferred this key of North China to the hand of her insidious foe.

Li Hung Chang represented China at the coronation of the Czar, and returned a more pronounced Russophile than ever. What is there about the Russian that enables him to cast a spell over ruler, diplomat, college professor, senator, editor, the best and wisest who venture to enter his domain and submit to his blandishments? Certain it is that many are bewitched to see with Russian eyes, and to speak in Russia's favor. But this illusion is temporary. Long residence dispels it. If the traveller would learn the language either of the Russian Moujik or the Chinese people, he would see beneath the glamour of surface-prosperity brought by railroads and the iron administration of the Muscovite Empire. He would see a great open sore. He would sympathize with the indignation of every patriotic Chinese at the alienation of valuable territory through Russian duplicity and the intrigues of selfish Chinese politicians. Righteous wrath at foreign aggression, true patriotism standing at bay, played their part in the convulsion of the closing year of the century, a small part, perhaps; yet let us give even the devil his due and admit that wild infatuation, greed, and cruelty were not the only factors in the Boxer outbreak.

The mad war with the world began. Far up in the north, where the great Amur flows, deluded Chinese bombarded the town of Blagovestchensk, killing three Russians. A tragedy followed. A picture will ever haunt the memory of those who read the story, a picture of the great river half choked with the bodies of thousands of men, women, and children, of desolated homes, of barbarities to put a savage to the blush. Sir E. Ashmead Bartlett, speaking in the House of Commons, described

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the crimes committed by the Russians against the Chinese in Manchuria as far more atrocious than the revolting butcheries of Armenians by the Turks. They were stirred to this swift, terrible vengeance, you say, by Chinese treachery? Can the attack be called treachery, when for a month war had been raging in North China? Would the treachery of the Chinese soldiers give a Christian nation the right to dye a river with the blood of the wives and children of her foe? The Russian government cannot wash its hands of this crime, for the War Office was in direct, telegraphic communication with the Amur region, and there is evidence that General Gribsky was acting under explicit orders. General Orloff received similar orders, but telegraphed to St. Petersburg, "I entreat to be allowed to spare the peaceful inhabitants." It is a significant fact that General Orloff was subsequently degraded by the War Office, but the Czar commuted the punishment to that of an "Imperial reprimand."

Blagovestchensk was not an isolated instance of cruelty. It is ever Russia's policy thus to strike terror to the hearts of those who venture to affront her. In the summer of 1900, the path of Russian troops from the sea to Tientsin, from Tientsin to Peking, was marked by a trail of blood. The Russian occupation of a portion of Peking and its vicinity was brief, but it was long enough for cruelty and lust to claim their victims by thousands, and the name of the Russian soldier will ever be execrated in North China. Defenceless women could not escape the Cossack brutes, even by fleeing from their homes and hiding in the high grain. Their pursuers formed a long cordon, circling about them in ever narrowing lines, and the scenes which followed no pen can describe. Those who lived in China during this reign of terror, and day after day heard heart-sickening tales directly from the lips of the sufferers, will understand, if Russia some day reaps a dread harvest of hatred. The fame of some other nations is stained, too, but the universal testimony was, "The Russian soldiers are the worst of all!" Why record these revolting facts? Because the time may come when they will be needed to explain other facts.

The next act is comedy, not tragedy. A week after the Allies relieved Peking, the Powers were informed, through an official communication, of Russia's purpose to withdraw both her legation

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and her troops from Peking. The reasons given for this strange movement were that she was not at war with China, and that negotiations could be carried on more conveniently from Tientsin. The true reason was that Russia *was* at war with China in Manchuria on such an extensive scale that she was reluctant to spare any troops for Peking. Arguments and persuasions having failed to move any of the legations from Peking, Russia tried the power of example. Late in September, the Russian legation received a telegram which sent it post-haste to Tientsin. The ruse failed; no other legations followed; and soon the Russian legation domiciled itself once more in the capital.

But Russia really withdrew her troops from Peking, with the exception of the legation guard, and took no further part in the policing of Peking during the year of occupation. A native paper took the ground that this was done largely to curry favor with the Chinese, especially with the corrupt government of the Empress Dowager. It was interesting to see Russia, with her blood-stained hands, posing as the humanitarian friend of China. She played the same rôle during the treaty negotiations. The Powers at first demanded severe punishment for the leaders who were responsible for the Boxer atrocities. Through the influence of America, Japan, and Russia, more lenient measures were adopted. But long before the change had been accepted by all of the Powers, Russia had told Li Hung Chang that *she* was proposing the lightening of penalty. Thus she gained a reputation for clemency, to aid her in winning golden concessions in the future.

And, without doubt, Russia helped to throw the mantle of charity over the biggest villain of all. The events of 1900 incriminated no one more deeply than Jung Lu. When he fled with the Court, he might well have felt that the noose was already around his unworthy neck. There has not been one word of censure against him in Imperial edict or foreign communication; and to-day he stands first in the councils of the Empress Dowager. Why has Russia strengthened the party of Reactionaries, the power of the corrupt Empress Dowager? Because she had bought them; they were Russophiles; with them in power she might work out her deep, dark plots undisturbed. She does not favor the Emperor; she does not want China to be strong, any more than she wants Turkey to be strong; she wants China to

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fall to pieces by slow, moral leprosy, that she may pick up the pieces one by one. This would be more to her liking than immediate partition, for that would compel Russia to share her destined victim with other Powers. The Chinese history of the past few years cannot be understood, unless these ulterior motives of the great Land-devourer are known.

During the last months of 1900, it was vaguely felt that occult influences were working in Peking. Late in September, Li Hung Chang had appeared in the capital, escorted by his dear friends, the Russians. In Shanghai and Tientsin, frequent interviews had been held with Russian civil officials. In November, Prince Oochtomsky, who had been the host of Li Hung Chang during his stay in St. Petersburg, visited Peking to make sure that the Chinese plenipotentiary was still securely hypnotized. Russian diplomacy was also working in Hsian, and it is uncertain in which capital the terms of the Manchurian Convention were first discussed. The Powers might take alarm if it were known that negotiations with Russia were being carried on in either city, so the agreement was secretly concluded between Russian officers and the Tartar General at Moukden. But it had still to be ratified. Li Hung Chang had a helpmate in the Chinese Minister at St. Petersburg, and all went merrily along in the communications between Peking, Hsian, and St. Petersburg. Then the secret began to leak out. That unimportant, little argument between Russian and Chinese officers in Moukden for the temporary adjustment of local matters began to assume ominous proportions. It was dimly suspected that Russia, while uniting with the other Powers in the public peace negotiations, was playing her own quiet, little game with China. It was hard to accuse her of such duplicity, for she had cordially assented to the terms upon which Great Britain and Germany had agreed in October, "not to make use of the present complications to obtain for themselves any territorial advantages in Chinese dominions." Russia had asserted that, "from the commencement of the present complications, she was the first to lay down the maintenance of the integrity of the Chinese Empire as a fundamental principle of her policy in China." Yet at this very time she was forging chains about Manchuria! The London *Times* of the third of January, 1901, contained the first definite news of the Russo-Chinese Agreement, the full text of which was soon in the

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hands of Lord Lansdowne. Russia, ignorant of the fact that this incriminating document was in the possession of England's Foreign Minister, continued her subterfuges, and the Russian Foreign Office assured the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires that nothing was known of the alleged agreement. Two or three weeks later, Russia was compelled to admit that there were negotiations with reference to guaranteeing her territory against the recurrence of attacks on the Manchurian side. "These arrangements would not involve any territorial acquisition, or the exercise of protectorate by Russia." When one reads the terms of this agreement, which the North China *Herald* well says "gives Manchuria back to China with one hand, and takes it away again with the other," the term "disingenuous" seems too mild to apply to Russia. Let us quote from the admirable summary and comments of the North China *Herald:*

"The preamble states that Chinese officials are allowed to assume their functions at Moukden and throughout the province of Fengtien, on the conditions that follow:

"(1) That General Tseng pacifies the province and helps Russia to build her railway. (2) That General Tseng provides board and lodging and kind treatment for all Russians in military occupation of the province. (3) That General Tseng disarms all the Chinese soldiers in the province, and hands over to the Russians all his munitions of war. (4) That General Tseng dismantles and destroys all fortresses, defences, and powder-magazines which the Russians do not require for their own use. (5) Russia will give up Newchwang, and any other places in Manchuria occupied by her soldiers, as soon as she is satisfied that peace and good order have been restored in the province. (6) The Chinese are to employ local police to restore peace and good order in the province. (7) The Tartar General is to have a Russian Political Resident at his side to control him. (8) If, while the local police are restoring peace and order, an emergency occurs beyond their powers to cope with, the Tartar General shall ask the Russian Resident for reinforcements. (9) The Russian text of this agreement is the standard text.

"It does not need much ingenuity to show what a mockery this is. Manchuria is to be restored to the Chinese as long as they keep order in a turbulent province, full of armed and mounted bandits, without soldiers, arms, arsenals, forts, or powder stores; and, meanwhile, they are to prove their humiliation to the people by providing board and lodging for all the troops the Russians send in to permanently occupy the province. The Chinese are to keep peace and order and protect the railway—under pain of losing the province altogether—with unarmed local police; and, while the Tartar General will be responsible for what he does or leaves undone, he is to do nothing without consulting the Russian Political Resident, who will have at his disposal the only armed

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force in the province, except the bandits. This is what Russia calls maintaining the integrity of the Chinese Empire."

England and Japan had early raised their voices in protest against this treaty. At one time, war between Russia and Japan seemed imminent unless the treaty were withdrawn. Minister Wu was instructed to appeal to America, and on the fifteenth of February Secretary Hay sent warning to China that it would be unwise and dangerous to have separate and secret negotiations with any single Power; and he gave notice that the United States would not recognize the validity of such treaties. Similar communications were sent to all of the Powers, and Russia was asked to furnish the United States with an official copy of the agreement. To refuse was awkward for Russia after the assurances which she had given; to comply was still more awkward since it would prove her a liar and foil her plot. So no copy was furnished.

Meanwhile, what of the attitude of China? The Emperor had already sent his appeal for help to other lands. According to a native paper, he also wrote a letter to the Czar in answer to one received from that potentate. This letter states that, although His Majesty of Russia assures the Emperor of China that this treaty will not interfere in the least with China's sovereignty and full rights in Manchuria, and that the Chinese administration will be restored to the *status quo ante* (that is, prior to occupation by Russian troops), still a careful inspection of the treaty leads one to fear that all things will not be as of yore. Then, in a very polite way, the Emperor hints that the exact words of the treaty will in the long-run prove more weighty than the assurances of the Czar. He goes on to say that the granting to Russia of the privileges asked in Manchuria would stir up other countries to make demands, and would lead to the downfall of China. So an appeal is made to the friendship and benevolence of the Czar, to withdraw all demands, and thus earn the warm gratitude of the Emperor of China and his millions of people.

The Viceroys, Lin Lui Yi and Chang Chih Tung, strongly protested to the Throne against the agreement, prophesying the destruction of the Empire and dynasty if it were sanctioned. Chang Chih Tung alone presented eight memorials on the subject. Other Viceroys and governors sent remonstrances. Public opinion waxed hot. Mass-meetings were held. Telegrams

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began to fly through China and to St. Petersburg. Two telegrams sent by a Shanghai mass-meeting are given as samples:

"To Prince Ching and Grand Secretary Li Hung Chang, Peking:— If the treaty with Russia be ratified, China will be a lost country at once. Great indignation and opposition fill the hearts of the gentry and common people, and we pray that you will sternly oppose the ratification in accordance with right and reason, and so save the critical situation."

The telegram to the Chinese Minister at St. Petersburg read:

"The knowledge of the agreement with Russia has created immense excitement and stirred up great indignation amongst the gentry, *literati*, and common people of the Empire, and the aspect of affairs is now entirely changed. A great calamity now threatens China. We pray you to use your utmost exertions to prevent the accomplishment of the treaty."

High provincial authorities in the south also sent a telegram to the Foreign Office in St. Petersburg, requesting the Minister to explain on their behalf to the Czar that the ratification of the treaty would be against the wishes of more than nine-tenths of the officials, *literati*, and common people of China. For months the native press poured out its philippics against Russia. Throughout the length and breadth of the Chinese Empire, there was not one paper which spoke a word in favor of the agreement. Some of these polemics of the press, and fiery speeches delivered at mass-meetings, would prove instructive reading to the lecturers and writers on the Manchurian question who have broadly asserted that the Chinese were indifferent to the loss of Manchuria, and that Russia, by her sympathy for China and fair treatment of her, had won concessions which she was unwilling to grant to any other country. A few sentences from one of these mass-meeting speeches give the lie to such representations:

"Our Conservatives have felt grateful for the support they receive from Russia; hence a strong friendship has been formed between the two governments. Russia is very successful in deceiving China with her wicked yet pleasing ways, and that is how the secret treaty, now in question, has come into existence."

There follow strong words of dissuasion against leaning on the help of other nations, and the exhortation:

"We, the sons of China, are solely responsible for the future of our country. It has nothing to do with foreign nations. If we fear the destruction of China, if we are ashamed of becoming inferiors or slaves to foreigners, then let us unite our strength, morally and physically, to

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protest against the ratification of the Manchurian Treaty. Although Russia is powerful, it matters not if we firmly determine not to submit to her. Such a movement will show that there is such a sentiment as love of country in China."

The Viceroys in their telegrams to Hsian said that, if it was necessary for the Court to choose between offending Russia and offending the other Foreign Powers, it would be safer to offend Russia. The matter was referred to Li Hung Chang, who replied, "If you have to make such a choice you had better make friends with Russia and offend the other Powers." This coincided with the views of the Empress Dowager, who had been persuaded that the only path of safety lay in securing the protection of her mighty neighbor. By what seductions was she made to believe that the safest place for the Manchurian Lamb was within the stomach of the Bear, to overlook the fact that when once the Lamb was digested the hunger of the Bear would prove a menace to the capital of the Empire?

The movements on the chess-board in March were of special interest, and ended in checkmating Russia for a time. The full text of the treaty had been sent from St. Petersburg to Li Hung Chang, and by him forwarded to Hsian. While he was waiting for his answer, the Powers, with the notable exception of France, were objecting to this *tête-à-tête* game between Russia and China, and demanding that the treaty be produced for public inspection. About the twelfth of March, it was rumored that an answer had come from Hsian refusing to ratify the treaty, and that the Chinese Minister at St. Petersburg had telegraphed to Li Hung Chang that the Russian government would reconsider and modify the treaty. Within a few days, these modifications were forwarded to Hsian, with the assurance that the treaty as modified did not interfere with China's sovereignty. But public opinion had made itself felt in the refugee court, and the protests of England, America, and Japan had put iron into the blood of China. She still refused to sign the treaty. It was rumored in Peking that, when the modified treaty was presented from St. Petersburg, it was accompanied by a vague, veiled threat that unless it was ratified within two weeks something unpleasant would happen. When the time expired, the Russian Minister called on Li Hung Chang, pressing him to sign the treaty immediately. Li replied that he had not received an edict authorizing

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him to do this. Then it was reported that Russia had extended the time a few days, threatening that if this treaty was not signed she would force the original text, which practically cedes Manchuria to Russia, with an additional article, which lets the camel's head into the tent of Chihli province, to the effect that: "China shall not employ subjects of any other Power in training naval and military forces in the northern provinces."

At this point the Japanese Minister called on Li Hung Chang to try to stiffen China's backbone. On the second of April, Li and his associate plenipotentiary, Prince Ching, sent a communication to the Russian Minister, asking that further changes be made in the treaty; rumor said that this was refused, and the communication returned. The air of Peking was electric for several days, as another telegram came from St. Petersburg stating that, unless the seal of state were quickly affixed to that important document, Russia would proceed to seal Manchuria as her own peculiar possession. But by the eighth of the month it was known that neither the Emperor nor the Empress Dowager would sign the treaty. Russia was busily occupied assuring Japan that the treaty did not interfere with China's sovereignty, or with the rights of any other Power. The interesting lie gained credence in Peking that England was sending ninety gunboats to the Far East! Before the middle of April, it was generally known that the Bear had decided to postpone dining on Lamb. Russia made the following announcement:

"In consequence of the obstacles opposed to the Manchurian Agreement, whereof the object is gradual evacuation, the said agreement being still unsigned, Russia maintains her present organization in Manchuria, and continues in occupation until conditions in China are completely restored and a central government established in the capital capable of guaranteeing a non-recurrence of disturbances."

The direful vagueness about this time-limit throws the old-fashioned Delphic oracle completely into the shade. Still, for once, Russian diplomacy had been thwarted. She must bide her time for riveting the chains, until Foreign Powers and Chinese Progressives could be caught napping again.

Early in the summer, when the withdrawal of the Allies from China was under discussion, Viceroys Lui and Chang petitioned the Throne to insist upon the recovery of Manchuria. The Emperor issued an edict stating that Manchuria is the home of the reigning dynasty; that if it is given up to a foreign country,

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the important province of Chihli will become a borderland, and the integrity of the Empire will be threatened. This edict, of course, had no effect on the Russians, who remained in Manchuria on the withdrawal of the Allies.

Russia was unwilling to wait long before renewing her effort to obtain permanent control of Manchuria. Li Hung Chang was old and feeble, the Reactionaries might lose power at court, and the Progressives would grant no favor to Russia. As early as June, it was reported that Li Hung Chang had sent a lengthy cipher despatch to St. Petersburg resuscitating the Manchurian question. Definite negotiations, however, were not resumed until after Russia's new Minister, M. Paul Lessar, arrived in Peking late in September. The first half of October the usual secrecy was maintained. Then copies of the following agreement began to be circulated:

"(1) Russia agrees to return the whole of the three Eastern provinces comprising Manchuria to China; but, owing to the disturbed condition of the said provinces at present, Russia cannot withdraw her troops at once from Manchuria. At the end of two years, should conditions become fairer, Russia will withdraw one-half of her troops, in accordance with circumstances. Should the province at that time be already pacified, then by the end of three years Russia will withdraw all her troops from the country.

"(2) All the railways in Manchuria shall be constructed by Russia alone; China consents not to use the services of any other nationality in that respect, nor permit any other nation to hold railway privileges in said provinces.

"(3) All mines and mining privileges in Manchuria shall be given to Russia alone. China shall not allow any other nation to exploit the said provinces.

"(4) Only such Chinese troops as have been drilled and disciplined by Russians alone shall be permitted to garrison Manchuria. Troops that have not been drilled in Western fashion and troops that have been drilled and disciplined by other foreign nationalities shall not be allowed to be stationed in any part of Manchuria.

"(5) The railway between Shanhaikwan and Newchwang shall be returned to China, but in doing so China shall grant some other compensating privileges to Russia for the act."

This treaty begins with such a conciliatory tone, and the language throughout is so carefully guarded, that the casual reader can easily be hoodwinked. Still, Russia carefully guards her essential point, the withdrawal of her troops; and as she is to be the judge of whether the "conditions are fairer," this treaty

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would practically grant to Russia all for which she was striving. She has provided that there shall be no troops in Manchuria which shall not work out her will, and "conditions" would doubtless be just what she desired them to be. Her plot might be foiled if she consented that the foreign-drilled troops of Yuan Shih Kai pacify the country. They might make a success of it, as they have done in Chihli!

While this treaty was under discussion in Peking, Jung Lu wrote to Li Hung Chang that the Empress Dowager wished to come to an agreement with Russia, believing that she could trust this powerful country to avert further foreign aggression, and also to give her personal protection on her return to Peking. But the Viceroys had taken the alarm, and again the voice of protest was heard. Lui Kun Yi telegraphed that it would be better to declare war on Russia than to sign the treaty. Some of the Powers made themselves disagreeable again by asking for an official copy of the treaty. On the first of November, Li Hung Chang received a communication from the Empress Dowager stating that the Viceroys had opposed the treaty so strongly that she had decided to denounce it. The Emperor also wrote in praise of a memorial submitted by Chang Chih Tung, and ordered that the scheme be matured by deliberate consultation in obedience to the honest promptings of his conscience. Li Hung Chang was thunderstruck. M. Lessar was furious. There was a stormy interview, but the Chinese Plenipotentiary insisted that he could not sign the treaty without the authority of an Imperial edict. The aged minister had received his death-blow, and as he lay unconscious on the morning of November seventh, M. Lessar called at his home, making one last desperate effort to get the signature of the man upon whom Russia had long depended.

Negotiations must now be carried on with Prince Ching and Wang Wen Shao. Prince Ching, though previously associated with Li Hung Chang as Plenipotentiary, had early resigned all negotiations with Russia, disgusted by the pro-Russianism of his more powerful colleague. Over these two Ministers Russia had failed to cast the spell either of her witchery or of her gold. So she tried terrorizing. On the eighth of November, a secret despatch from the Chinese Minister at St. Petersburg gave the warning that Russia fully intends to retain Manchuria or to impose terms which menace China's independence. For three weeks

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the treaty lay in abeyance, for neither of the Chinese Ministers was in Peking. Prince Ching renewed negotiations with M. Lessar after he had returned from his conference with the Court at Kaifeng-fu, but asked that he might have time for consideration, as important interests were involved. Up to the present time, Prince Ching and Wang Wen Shao have refused assent, Russia has refused to withdraw her claims, and matters are at a deadlock.

It is unnecessary to describe at length how, regardless of her assurances to the Powers, regardless of the fact that China refused to sign even the modified treaty, Russia has strengthened her grasp on Manchuria, exercising every right of sovereignty, leaving to Chinese officials far less power than they had in Chihli during the year of occupation by the Allies. Russia has now over two hundred thousand soldiers quartered in Siberia and Manchuria. Her estimates provide for the maintenance of a hundred thousand men to guard the Manchurian railway. Did the granting of a concession to build a railroad and control it for a limited period, carry the right to seize a country larger than France, rich in resources, because in a time of war this railroad was damaged? The railroad from Peking southward, which is being constructed by a Belgian syndicate, has for months been guarded only by Chinese soldiers. Russia allows no Chinese soldiers in Manchuria, and refuses to withdraw her own because the country is not yet tranquil! No wonder that for years China objected to railroads, claiming that they would be the forerunners of complete foreign occupation, chains which would ultimately bind the land which they traverse to some foreign Power. It has been said that Russia understands perfectly the use of the "iron horse" in place of the war horse. America has just as good a right as Russia to invade Manchuria with a vast army, for her commercial interests have suffered more than Russia's. Of course, there are brigands in Manchuria. There are more to-day than when it was under Chinese rule. The longer the Allies stayed in Chihli, the more brigands there were. A few months of return to Chinese rule have worked wonders in quieting the province. But China is powerless to subdue brigandage in Manchuria as long as Russia requires her to do it with unarmed police. It is not true that the population of Manchuria consists largely of bandits and "ne'er do weels." Certain mountain regions have frequently been dis-

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turbed by brigands, but law-abiding, industrious people, many of them from North China, compose the bulk of her population. Some of these people have been driven from their homes by the oppressive taxation of Russia. The *Universal Gazette,* a Chinese paper, reports that the inhabitants are being cruelly treated in every way, and ground down to the earth, apparently with the object of driving them out of the country to make way for Russian colonists.

Another consideration ought to carry some weight in America and England. There is no part of China where Protestant Missions have been more prosperous than in Manchuria. Gladly would the stricken survivors of Boxer massacres welcome back their missionary pastors. But Manchuria under Russian rule is not the place for Protestant Missions The country which tolerates no proselyting in her home domains will suppress it in her foreign dependencies. Must the patient work of years, which has done more than Russia's much-praised railroad to introduce civilization and banish the darkness of Manchuria, be lost now? Must the native Christians be forsaken by those who persuaded them to abandon their ancient religion?

Let us summarize briefly the reasons why Russia should not be allowed to retain Manchuria. First, stands the eternal principle of right, supported by International Law. Russia has no moral claim on Manchuria. She has no legitimate commercial claim to be expressed by the glib term "Manifest destiny." Her exports and imports, like those of England and America, can pass through Manchuria without the presence of a single Cossack soldier to interfere with China's sovereignty. The commercial interests of the world demand her withdrawal. Missionary interests demand it. The peace of the world demands it The good of China demands it. The world has decreed that China shall have one more fair chance to redeem herself. Russian rapacity menaces her peaceful development and prosperity.

L. MINER.

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THE BANKING AND TREASURY SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY J. H. WALKER, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY IN THE FIFTY-FOURTH AND FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESSES.

In every department of public and private enterprise except banking, the ways and means of accomplishing beneficent results simply, speedily, and economically, have been enormously developed and improved to their very highest known efficiency. This country has taken the lead in all such things, but it is a singular fact, and one exceedingly mortifying to our pride, that its Treasury and Banking System still remains in the crude, unscientific, and wasteful condition into which it fell forty years ago, saving only that our money has been restored to the world's standard of value.

That we maintain this unique and most wasteful system is not because its deficiencies and empirical methods are not known, but because of an inertia that no patriotic and intelligent effort has been able thus far to overcome. The men in this country whose opinion on financial questions is known to be of value, are practically unanimous in condemning the system. The highest authorities in Europe are amazed that the acknowledged primacy of our people in the genius of improving and developing to its highest efficiency every appliance for advancing educational, commercial, industrial, social, and moral conditions, has not been attained in banking, that we should tolerate for a day a financial system so wasteful of resources and so threatening to stable economic conditions.

It has been declared in reports from the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House, and in public addresses by economists, that the waste to the people—without one cent's advantage

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to the United States Treasury, to the banks, or to any individual —in interest on the enormous sums in the Treasury, in administering our clumsy Treasury Department, and in higher rates of discount than would prevail under proper conditions, is approximately seventy-five million dollars annually. Secretary Gage in addresses has challenged any one to controvert this statement successfully, and it has not even been questioned.

The wonderful progress of this country is in spite of, and has been in no way promoted by, our financial system. It is believed that our system intensifies, if it does not breed, monetary panics and industrial depressions. Doubt, fear, and unnecessary panic are a part of it; they inhere in it. The kinds of monetary depressions that are constantly occurring here are unknown in Europe. Panics and industrial depressions arising from natural financial causes will continue, as will blizzards and earthquakes. But nine in ten of our financial disturbances arise from a condition created by the national banking and treasury laws. It is a strange thing in finance that our banks are now under no legal obligation to maintain at a parity with gold one dollar of the paper money they issue.

Again, neither the United States Treasury nor the banks have any means of protecting a dollar of the gold they hold. The banks in England, Germany, France, and every other civilized country but ours, have a well-regulated banking system, and in it an absolutely sure means of protecting their gold.

Pierre Des Essars, Chief of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics of the Bank of France, and author of the historical survey of banking, "The History of Banking in all the Leading Nations," whose opinion is shared by every authority on banking in Europe, says in an article on American banking:

"The discount rate has a very direct effect upon the rate of exchange. By increasing it sufficiently, the bank raises the value of gold, of which it is the chief reservoir, and so decreases the demand for it; at the same time, it attracts foreign gold by affording it an opportunity for advantageous investment in commercial paper paying a high rate of interest. These effects always follow as here indicated, but only on condition that the banks of issue are sufficiently powerful (in the head institution) to be able to fix the discount rate. The Bank of England, the Bank of France, and the Reichsbank are in this category; their action shows the condition of the general money market, and the other banks are obliged to follow. But a very different condition of affairs arises

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wherever there are several banks of about equal importance acting at cross purposes. There is then no official discount rate, no means of preventing the outflow of gold or keeping down the rate of exchange; and such is precisely the situation of the National Banks of the United States."

The law of March 14th, 1900, was the final step in the process of completing the existing system of our national banking and coinage laws. There is no further relief possible, through legislation, to the National Banking and Treasury System, except by bringing it into harmony with natural financial law:

First, by relieving the United States Treasury from the current redemption of any form of paper money—a function which is assumed by no other public treasury;

Second, by devolving upon the banks the obligation of maintaining parity between all kinds of money—a function which is normal to banks, and is required of them by law in every other country;

Third, by allowing banks to issue true bank currency, that is, currency against their general assets—which is one of the chief functions of banks of deposit, loan, and discount, and is performed by banks in every other country;

Fourth, by securely uniting all the commercial banks in the country, through the existing clearing-houses, into a solid union to maintain parity, by crowning them with a National Clearing House, but leaving them in as independent a position as now for every other purpose.

Nearly every person urging the reform of our Treasury and Banking System, who has submitted a bill having to do with the whole subject of financial and banking reform, has left untouched the vital errors in it. In fact, the bills which have been submitted would have injured the good in the system and made the bad worse.

The functions of a bank are:

First, to keep safely for its customers, until it is needed, the capital they do not need to-day;

Second, to make safe loans of its own capital and that of its depositors on short-time notes;

Third, to furnish to the people at all times a safe and sufficient amount of circulating notes, varying in volume, from time to time, according to the demands of trade. The doing of this

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has been proven to be impossible where banks are required to buy United States bonds equal in amount to the currency issued. To require this buying of bonds is tantamount to forbidding banks to issue currency, and thus restricts the right to use banks to those persons whose operations are large enough to warrant their keeping deposits in banks and issuing checks in their business. Deposits in banks and circulating notes issued by banks against their assets, are identical in substance. Every man who has the note of a bank in his pocket has in it a deposit certificate of the bank to the amount of the note. He can go to the bank and get the amount of his deposit in legal tender money, or pass his deposit certificate (circulating note) along to the next man. In passing the bank notes along, he passes along his deposit as really as the man with a technical deposit in that bank passes his deposit along by making a check, and going to the bank and getting legal tender money for it, or by passing the check along to the next man. The truth of what has been said as to banks being forbidden to issue currency, is made apparent by the fact that the currency notes of all the national banks in the country are only 28 cents to each dollar of capital, while the currency notes of the Bank of Germany are $8.96 to each dollar of capital, and the Bank of France currency in circulation is $17.84 to each dollar of capital.

The time has now come when something must be done to correct the errors in our system, and the only course that will command the confidence of the people is to do the right thing bravely, and complete the business. It is far easier to explain and justify to the people our action in a completed work, than it is to secure their approval of a half measure.

The Act of March 14th, 1900, cleared the way for bringing our Treasury and Banking System into obedience to the natural laws of finance, as is the system of every other country. I am sure I am not stating the defects of the present system too strongly. On the foundation afforded by the many excellent features of the present national law, and by the banks and clearing-houses, our system may be made the best in the world, instead of the worst, as it is now declared to be by the Hon. James H. Eccles, the Hon. Lyman J. Gage, the Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, and the other Ex-Comptrollers and Secretaries of the Treasury, as well as by every acknowledged financial authority.

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Again, it is a sound principle in legislation to legislate along the lines of least resistance, to make as few changes as possible in anything with the use of which the people are familiar, to offend the prejudices of no class of persons if the end sought can be accomplished by any other means. Every practice and the substance of every existing thing that the people are accustomed to, should be retained. But the financial institutions of the country should be unified and brought under an improved national law, and the whole made to conform to normal financial and banking principles and practice.

All responsibility for maintaining parity should be transferred from the United States Treasury to what should be the head of our financial and banking system, viz., a National Clearing House, which should, in our system, be equivalent to the official head of the banking and financial systems of France, Germany, and England, and every other first-class country. Every country in the world finds it absolutely necessary to make a head institution an integral part of its banking system, as the National Clearing House should be made,—not "a head outside of the system," as we have attempted to make the United States Treasury.

The things proposed to be done in amendment of the National Banking Law are of vital importance to the country. This question is liable to assume potential importance any day. It will surely become prominent when least expected, like every great crisis. It is our duty to settle this question wisely, while we may deal with it free from the passion and excitement of a great war; otherwise we shall have to deal with it in the midst of the disturbance of a serious crisis, and then it will probably be settled unwisely.

Under existing, empirical national law, a normal "country bank" cannot exist. The national banking act is as fatal to the existence of strictly country banks as would be a positive prohibition of them in the body of the law. There are banks in the country, but they are obliged to use city methods, and to do their business as if under city conditions. That a "country bank" does not and cannot exist is certain. Country banks such as existed in 1860 would furnish now circulating notes to one-quarter of our people, who occupy one-half of the territory of the country. These banks were as sound in their methods, except in not currently redeeming their currency in large commercial

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centres, and as safe, in most of the States, as national banks are to-day. For a quarter of a century previous to 1862, all banks in the New England States issued circulating notes against their general assets, to the amount of their capital. They currently redeemed these notes in Boston, as well as over their own counters. No banks ever existed that served the people more safely and efficiently than they, or that gave proportionately lower rates of discount. Our national banks should be allowed the same right of issuing true bank currency that the New England banks then enjoyed. It is passing strange that the Government should insist upon forbidding to banks the exercise of this natural function, in view of its being so successfully used by banks in every other country—and in this country, as has been said, in the New England States and most of the others, for a quarter of a century. Is there one man who will venture to assert that the Bank of Germany is not in as safe a position, in case of a monetary panic, with nine dollars of currency and three dollars of deposits to each dollar of capital, as it would be with three dollars of currency and nine dollars of deposits to each dollar of capital? Can any one successfully maintain the proposition that the Bank of France, in case of a monetary panic, with eighteen dollars of currency issued against its assets and four dollars of deposits, is not in a far safer position than it would be had it only four dollars of currency in circulation and eighteen dollars in deposits to each dollar of capital? Will any one dispute the general proposition that banks, in case of a panic, are far safer with any amount of circulating notes outstanding issued against their assets, however large, than with the same amount of deposits, in view of the fact that, in every country, depositors clamor for their money in case of a panic, while holders of the currency hoard it and clamor for more of the currency obligations of the banks? It is the experience of every country that, instead of the solvency of the banks being threatened by holders of currency, it is the depositors who embarrass it in case of a panic. A bank is strengthened by an increased demand for its circulating notes.

Again I quote Pierre Des Essars, who says:

"After a thorough study of this question, I have arrived at the conclusion that the true bank note is unknown in the United States. . . . Side by side with the Treasury, which has transformed itself into a bank of issue, to the serious detriment of the whole system of circulation, are

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the National Banks. Their right of issue is wholly illusory, because their notes represent United States bonds, that is, a debt of the state; and because the volume of their circulation is regulated by a fixed limitation, without regard to the needs of commerce or the wants of the money market. Such a combination is entirely lacking in elasticity; besides, the restrictions are so severe that the issue of notes is really a burden to the banks."

To realize what great injustice is being done to at least one-quarter of the people of the country, who inhabit more than one-half the area of the United States, we must compare the accommodations that were furnished the people by state banks in 1860, poor as they were, with those furnished by the national banks of 1900. There is not the slightest difficulty in granting those people, under our national law, every facility of banking that they enjoyed from 1840 to 1860 under state law. It is susceptible of absolute proof that the people in rural districts are either absolutely deprived of all banking privileges, or are made to pay fifty to one hundred per cent. more than normal rates, because of abnormal conditions which are wholly caused by the unnecessary restrictions of the national law upon the issuing of currency. If the law is amended, it should be so done that each bank will be as independent as it is now, except that it shall be united with all others for doing the one thing necessary, viz., maintaining the parity of all kinds of money.

Financial panics should be made impossible, excepting from industrial depressions, as they are impossible to-day in France or Germany. The normal workings of the banking systems in those countries check and alleviate a panic immediately upon its inception. They do not have a panic unless it be initiated by an aggravated industrial situation, arising from very great over-production or under-consumption, as you may choose to express it, and such panics are minimized.

Again, the amendments to the present law should be so written as to balance equally, as far as it is possible to do so, the powers of the people over the banks—represented in the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Comptroller of the Currency—and the powers of the banks themselves in combination, in managing the National Clearing House. It has been proven that a certain degree of unity of all banks in a country is absolutely necessary to sound banking, in the present state of civilization. The law should be so amended as to put the United States Govern-

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ment practically into the same necessary relations with the banks in the United States as the Government of England maintains with the Bank of England, the Government of Germany with the Bank of Germany, the Government of France with the Bank of France, only substituting a National Clearing House for the United States Treasury. The security of the people (that is, of the United States Treasury), in dealing with the National Clearing House, would be the total banking capital of the whole country. The failure of the National Clearing House would be as impossible as the destruction of the whole body of the American people.

All of the northern States are now so thoroughly filled with manufacturing and mining, that a comparison of those States with the agricultural portions of the country, now and in 1860, cannot be fairly made. The southern States are practically in the same condition, as to the occupations of their people—or they were when the census of 1890 was taken—as in 1860. The figures are given on pages 234 and 235 of the "Hearings before the Banking and Currency Committee of 1898-99." It is just as certain as anything can be that cannot be absolutely proven, that the States of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, are about $300,000,000 short of the banking funds they would be using to-day, if proper legislation had been passed by Congress allowing the issue of asset currency under national law, under proper restrictions, any time between the close of the War and 1870. Their personal property, *per capita,* is larger to-day than it was then. What is true of them is true of all the agricultural sections of the country.

Nine loans in ten made by all bankers are what are known as "character loans"—that is, loans that are made because the character of the man borrowing is thoroughly known to the lender. Not one in a thousand of the men financially responsible, living in the country districts, is personally known to capitalists or bankers in the cities.

The grievous oppression inflicted by the National Bank Act upon a very large portion of the eighty million people in this country cannot be realized, except by giving longer time and more patience to comparing it with the systems of France, Germany, England, etc., and with the Suffolk banking system of

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the New England States from 1840 to 1862, than most people can be induced to give. It is more influential in depopulating country districts, by sending people into cities, than any other single law ever enacted by Congress. Not a business enterprise can live that does not have the friendship and confidence of the managers of some bank. Some bank is potentially a "special partner" in every business undertaking, furnishing a very large share of the capital in it, in discounting commercial notes. A man can borrow only of persons to whom he is personally known. As normal banks cannot exist in the country, every man who wishes to enter into the business of manufacturing, in large or small degree, and to employ his neighbors, must move into some city and take his neighbors with him, that he may thus secure the special partner absolutely necessary to him, viz., a bank; and a bank, as I have said, cannot exist in the country unless it may issue currency against its assets. In no other cities in the world have the citizens such an unfair and oppressive advantage over their fellows in the country districts in securing bank discounts, as in this country. This practical inhibition of country banks is of no advantage to the cities. Doubling the rate of discount in country districts does not lower the rate in cities by the smallest fraction, but it gives the citizens of cities a monopoly of opportunity to do business. Make all the changes suggested in the banking law, and the rates of interest or discount will be surely reduced in the country districts from one-third to one-half, and the rates in the cities will not be increased by a farthing. The law, as it now works, is one of oppression to the country districts, pure and simple, with no advantage to the cities.

I have carefully examined the official figures to verify the statements made in this article; and I have the authority of the most thoughtful and patriotic men in the whole body of financiers to justify such of my statements as are not furnished by the Treasury Department, or are not matters of calculation.

J. H. WALKER.

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SOME NEGLECTED NAVAL LESSONS OF THE SPANISH WAR.

BY A FRIEND OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

THERE are few evils that have not some mitigating good accompanying them, and the so-called Sampson-Schley controversy, unfortunate as it is for the navy and the country in many respects, has not been without its advantage. It has aroused intense interest in the navy all over the country as hardly anything else has done. The recent court of inquiry, indeed, had a certain educational value, inasmuch as it gave occasion for exploiting a good many features of naval life which are ordinarily unknown to the public. Many friends of the navy, however, have regretted that the purview of the court of inquiry could not have been extended so that all the features of the war, both in the Atlantic and the Pacific, might have been thoroughly investigated. Some of the most important lessons to be learned from the war were not even touched upon in the inquiry, and they have received little attention from the authorities or from the public at large. And, should we be plunged into another naval war, with an efficient navy pitted against us, disaster might result from neglecting the warnings to be derived from the Spanish war, particularly from the Santiago campaign.

It is the more remarkable that the most important lesson of the late war should have been overlooked because the vessel which emphasized it in such a marked way is continually spoken of in the press. We read a great deal about the magnificent performance of the "Oregon," but such explanations as are given us of the agencies to which that performance is to be attributed are couched in terms of the naval conventions of an era that is past. Yet if, among these agencies—apart from the individual qualities of the ship itself—there be any which can be made operative in

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other ships, it is of the utmost importance that we know what they are, as a recognition of them will enable us to enhance the efficiency of the entire navy. Let us, therefore, consider briefly the record of the "Oregon," and see why she distinguished herself in so signal a manner.

Before war had been declared, but when the naval authorities felt that it was almost certain, it was believed that the "Oregon" could render little service in the Pacific, while she would materially increase the strength of the North Atlantic Fleet, and orders were accordingly sent for her to come around to the Atlantic coast. During her voyage war was declared, and it will be remembered that there was great anxiety lest she might be attacked by the entire Spanish fleet, and that great relief was felt when she safely arrived off the Florida coast. She had made the voyage of 14,500 miles in about fifty days, never losing an hour for repairs or overhauling anywhere, all such necessary work being done at the ports where she stopped to coal. Ordinarily, at the end of such an extended trip, it would have been considered entirely reasonable that the vessel should have a rest of at least two weeks for a complete overhaul, but the "Oregon" went immediately to the blockade off Santiago. It might have been expected that, when the day of battle arrived, a vessel which had just passed through such a severe ordeal would be at a disadvantage compared with the other ships; but, as is well known, the "Oregon's" performance at Santiago on July 3d, 1898, excelled that of any of her consorts in the fleet. Not only did she completely outdistance her sister ships, the "Indiana" and "Massachusetts," but her speed even rivalled that of the "Brooklyn," which was reckoned as being at least five knots faster. The commander-in-chief says in his official report:

> "The fine speed of the 'Oregon' enabled her to take a front position in the chase, and the 'Cristobal Colon' did not give up until the 'Oregon' had thrown a thirteen-inch shell beyond her. This performance adds to the already brilliant record of this fine battle-ship, and speaks highly of the skill and care with which her admirable efficiency has been maintained during a service unprecedented in the history of vessels of her class."

One does not have to be an engineer to see that the phenomenal record of the "Oregon" from beginning to end was due to the skill and unremitting care of the chief engineer; and yet it is

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highly probable that very few Americans know his name. It is but simple justice to this officer—Chief-Engineer Robert W. Milligan—that his name should stand high on the roll of the men who rendered distinguished service to their country during the Spanish war.

For the "Oregon's" performance, her builders deserve great praise. No amount of skill would have enabled such a record to be made unless the machinery had been well constructed. But those who know the facts of Milligan's remarkable zeal, skill, and far-sighted intelligence understand that the results are due to him in an unusual degree. There were practically no leaks to waste the precious fresh water, but losses cannot be entirely prevented even by the greatest care; and at an early stage of the long trip around South America he insisted that the boilers must receive first consideration, even at the expense, if necessary, of putting officers and crew on a short allowance of water. He found, soon after reaching the Atlantic, when he fell in with one of our colliers, that the coal he had last obtained on the west side was of a very much higher quality than that sent down from home. Accordingly, at the first opportunity, he had this best coal moved into "the fighting bunkers," adjacent to the boilers; these he then locked, and he kept the key in his own possession. On the day of battle the doors were unlocked, and this superior quality of coal had much to do with the "Oregon's" splendid exhibition of sustained high speed.

When the "Oregon" arrived at Key West, and again while on the blockade, but a few days before the battle, it was proposed, for reasons of economy, that some of the four boilers should be shut off, and that the ship should be kept under reduced power, as had been done on all the other vessels in the fleet except the "Texas." To this Chief-Engineer Milligan strenuously objected, pointing out that if the Spaniards came out they would come out when they were not expected, and with their own ships ready for the highest speed, so that the blockading vessels should also be prepared for the highest possible speed. Fortunately, the chief engineer was permitted to have his way, and to maintain the ship in readiness for full speed at a moment's notice —the duty for which, at such time and under such circumstances, the ships of our navy are presumably constructed. Suppose this course had not been followed. Under the most favorable con-

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ditions, it takes more than an hour to raise steam in such large boilers as those of the "Oregon," and such rapid work involves decided risk to their integrity; but we can see what would have been the result if, instead of going at a speed of seventeen knots within twenty minutes after the Spanish fleet was sighted, an additional hour had been required to attain that speed. On the "Oregon," not only was steam maintained in all the boilers all the time, but fires were spread, so that, when the signal came for full speed, all that was necessary was to start the forced-draft blowers, close the fire-rooms, and throw on the coal.

The "Brooklyn," nominally of over twenty-one knots speed, was able to use only half power, because her forward engines were uncoupled, and time could not be spared to connect them; besides, half of her boilers were out of use, some of them not only having neither water in them nor fires under them ready to kindle, but actually having man-hole plates off. A similar state of affairs existed on all the other vessels in the squadron except the "Texas." While the trip of 14,500 miles would, of itself, have distinguished the "Oregon," her celebrity is really due to her magnificent speed during the battle, immediately following this long trip. Had not Chief-Engineer Milligan's advice been acted upon, the "Oregon" would probably have attracted no more attention than the "Indiana," whose captain found it necessary, in a communication to Admiral Sampson, dated August 6th, 1898, to call attention to the fact that his ship was present during the battle, in view of the slight notice which the "Indiana" had received in the reports of both Schley and Sampson. As for the part played by the "Iowa," it will probably be remembered that the "Oregon" went past the "Iowa" so rapidly, that the chaplain of the former, not being a naval expert, and being deceived by the similarity of the two ends of the vessel, actually thought that the "Iowa" was running away. Too much credit cannot be given to Chief-Engineer Milligan for the unrivalled achievement of the battle-ship which was made famous by his persistent and faithful performance of duty; yet, in the official report of the part taken by the "Oregon" in the battle of Santiago, his name is lost in the long general list of officers of the ship, which extends from the executive officer down to the lowest warrant officer, all of whom got exactly the same amount of praise as the man who made the "Oregon's" record for her.

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We have gone at some length into this history of the "Oregon" to emphasize the point that the vital factor in the Santiago battle was engineering—a point which is forcibly illustrated, in a negative way, by the utter absence of engineering on the Spanish ships. These vessels were all of excellent design and construction, and none of them was over four years old, the "Colon," indeed, being less than a year old. All of them had made nineteen knots or more on their trial trips; and, had their engineering departments been efficient, they could have run away from our vessels. The great lesson, therefore, to be drawn from the battle of Santiago, is the vital importance of engineering to the efficiency of the modern fleet; yet, during the Schley Court of Inquiry this matter appeared only incidentally, and received so little attention from the court that, although it did transpire that most of the vessels were not capable of working at more than half power, the question was never asked: Who was responsible for this condition of affairs? A commander-in-chief is supposed to have such a thorough grasp of all the elements of victory under his control, that he shall see to it that nothing is overlooked which will maintain them all in the highest efficiency. If the vessels had half their guns disabled, knowledge of that fact would raise a tremendous outcry, but the permitting of the machinery to be reduced to such a condition that it could only give half power is an oversight of even graver character. Great attention was paid by the Schley court to the question of coal; yet the much more important matter of keeping the machinery which was to use the coal in readiness to use it to the fullest extent seems to have been utterly ignored. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, had the blockaded fleet been composed of vessels of almost any other nationality than Spanish, most if not all of them would have escaped at Santiago. Our people generally have been so blinded by the completeness of the victories at Manila and Santiago, that they have failed to realize the actual facts of the situation, and they are in great danger of forgetting that the victory was due, less to our superior efficiency, than to the utter inefficiency of the Spaniards, both as engineers and as gunners.

One lesson which we ought to learn has been urged upon public attention for years, namely, the necessity of keeping our naval and military resources in a condition of efficient preparation for action. In this respect, both the army and the navy failed in im-

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portant particulars, although, fortunately for us, the utter inefficiency of the Spaniards saved us from the punishment due to our neglect. For example, while careful students of events had realized that a war with Spain, the theatre of which would be in the West Indies, was highly probable, nothing had been done to put Key West, the only naval base we possess in that vicinity, in a state of efficiency. Even the modest recommendations of Admiral Melville, the Engineer-in-Chief, that the ramshackle shops there, which were nominally under his control, should be equipped with a few modern tools, had been overruled. After the destruction of the "Maine," Admiral Melville took the matter into his own hands, and he did, by vigorous action, put the shops into such condition that they were a great help in the maintenance of the blockading fleet. Not only should Key West have been made an adequate naval base, but the fitting out of a repair-ship, which had been planned as far back as the time of the Chilean imbroglio in 1892, should have been completed before the actual imminence of hostilities, instead of only being commenced at that time. This repair-ship, which was obtained by converting the merchant steamer "Chatham" into a floating machine-shop called the "Vulcan," proved of the greatest value to the fleet off Santiago, where she arrived just after the battle, when her facilities for repairs, as well as her splendid outfit of stores, were almost invaluable. She would have been of very much greater service, however, had she been able to accompany the fleet from the very beginning, as should have been the case.

As showing the lack of appreciation of the importance of the engineering side of the modern fleet, it will be a surprise to most people to know that when it was proposed after the destruction of Cervera's fleet to send the "Vulcan" out to Manila—where the large number of our vessels and the almost utter absence of facilities for repairs would have made her extremely valuable, and where she would have also saved the Government a large amount of money which was spent for repairs at Hong-Kong—Admiral Dewey, for some unaccountable reason, did not want her, stating that he had a navy-yard of his own at Cavite. But there is so little water at Cavite that only the smallest vessels could get up to the navy-yard there, a fact which has been emphasized recently by the recommendation of a naval board that, if an adequate navy-yard in the Philippines is to be laid out,

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it should be at Olongapo on Subig Bay. The Department itself failed to grasp the importance of having such a vessel as the "Vulcan"; so that, when Admiral Dewey refused her, she was ordered to the League Island Navy Yard, and there her splendid equipment of machine tools was removed, thus making it necessary for us again to make a repair-ship from the beginning in case we have a fleet operating away from our own coasts.

The failure to realize the importance of engineering to the modern fleet has not been due to lack of foresight on the part of the naval engineers; for, besides the repair-ship "Vulcan," Melville planned and equipped two other vessels known as "distilling ships," whose office was to furnish fresh water for the boilers and, in case of necessity, for the crews, thereby obviating the necessity, which Milligan felt, of asking to have the crew put on an allowance.* Owing to the irrational practice of putting off everything to the last minute, these distillers could not be started until after the war began, and there was great delay in getting suitable vessels; but one of them, the "Iris," was completed in time to have her services offered to the camp at Montauk Point. Even there, however, red tape deprived our men of the full advantage of this opportunity; for, on account of some quibble as to authority between the army and navy, it was deemed better to let the soldiers take their chances with water of uncertain quality rather than utilize the pure distilled water from the "Iris."

A very natural question, which will occur to any one who reads the foregoing with attention and with sincere interest in the efficiency of the navy, is: What efforts are being made in the navy to profit by the experiences of the Spanish-American war in general, and particularly as to the vital importance of engineering to the efficiency of the modern ship. To this, the answer at present is very discouraging. For over fifty years there had been a steady growth in the importance of machinery and engineering on war vessels, with a constant effort on the part of engineers to secure adequate recognition of the value of their services. In 1897, when President Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he took hold of the question with the determination to settle the so-called "line and staff fight," and in-

* To preserve marine boilers it is necessary to provide them with fresh water, which is obtained by condensing the steam made in the evaporators. Salt-water deposits scale and rapidly reduce the steaming power of the boilers. Hence, the vital importance of the matter referred to.

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crease to the utmost the efficiency of all branches of the personnel. Under his chairmanship, a committee of officers, known as the "Personnel Board," met frequently during the month of November, 1897, and devised a bill, commonly called the "Personnel Bill," which was forwarded to the Secretary with an admirable report by Mr. Roosevelt as Chairman. The great feature of this bill was the plan to make all the officers of the navy engineers and gunners at the same time; as it was expressed by Chairman Foss of the House Naval Committee, "the naval officer of the future must be a fighting engineer." Mr. Roosevelt himself tersely described the condition which called for this central provision of the bill, when he said: "On the modern war vessel, every officer has to be an engineer whether he wants to or not." He elaborated this proposition by pointing out that the functions of the two classes of officers, those on deck and those in the engine-room, had been gradually getting nearer and nearer to each other, the former having more engineering, and the latter more executive duties, until there was but a short step, and a logical one, to having them all trained alike, so that any officer would be equally competent to take charge of the machinery or of a gun division. This scheme was not the outcome of the dreamings of a doctrinaire, but was the result of the suggestion of a well-known deck officer, Captain (now Admiral) R. D. Evans; and it received the unanimous approval of the Personnel Board, which consisted of seven line officers and four engineer officers.

More than this, when the bill was considered by the naval committees, and when there was ample opportunity to point out any defects in this scheme, practically not a voice was raised against it. In the pages of this REVIEW for December, 1898, there was a symposium on the subject, consisting of five articles—by Admiral Philip, representing the line officers; Admiral Melville, representing the engineers; Colonel Roosevelt, the man who had brought the scheme to fruition; Ex-Congressman Francis H. Wilson, who had really fathered it by presenting it to Colonel Roosevelt; and, finally, Congressman Foss, to whom more than to any one man the bill owes its passage. These articles discussed the measure very thoroughly, and so convincingly that, their influence supplementing that of the admirable report of Congressman Foss, the bill became a law on March 3d, 1899. The bill contained many features besides this amalgamation of the line

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and engineer corps, with its accompanying interchange of duties. All of the other provisions of the bill have been carried out. Strangely enough, the absolutely vital provision of the bill, and the one which caused it to be passed, was not for a long time carried out at all, and only within the last few months has even a feeble effort been made to do so. Many friends of engineering, both in and out of the navy, have not hesitated to say that this failure to put into practice the interchange of duties was simply due to bad faith, and that there had never been any intention on the part of the line officers to make this experiment a success, their proposition for amalgamating the engineer corps with the line being simply intended to get the engineers out of the way, so that a scheme, which had been proposed at other times, for having the real engineering done by warrant officers, might be effected. The haste with which a corps of warrant machinists was formed lends color to this view. Admiral Melville has repeatedly called attention to the failure to enforce the law calling for an interchange of duties between the officers of the deck and of the engine-room, and it is now worthy of notice that, while he, as a member of the Personnel Board, voted for amalgamation, and while he has repeatedly, both in his annual reports and elsewhere, stated his unshaken belief in the correctness of the plan of the Personnel Bill, he has always guarded his statements by saying that the scheme is undoubtedly a good one, and will undoubtedly give efficiency *if it is administered with a desire to make it a success.*

London *Engineering* for November 5th, 1901, speaking editorially about the result of the change in the American navy, refers to the matter in a very hopeless way. The writer speaks of the present condition of affairs as: "The disaster that has overtaken their efforts towards improvement." The editor goes on to say:

"Engineering is not to be learned without practical object-lessons carried out by the student himself. No man can become a mechanical engineer without dirtying his hands, and also without devoting to the subject several years of hard study, accompanied by practical work. It is a matter of long and special training, both in theory and practice. No country that cannot command a body of men willing to undergo the disagreeable features incidental to engineering training, will be able to maintain its position as a first-class naval power under the stress of war, however many ships and guns it may possess. Neither Great Britain

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nor the United States lacks such men, and it will be only the ruling powers of either country that will prevent their employment.... The chief danger is that the warrant machinists will be accepted as efficient stopgaps, although we think there is too much engineering knowledge abroad in the United States for the foolishness of that course not to be seen. If, however, such a plan is accepted, the American navy will be thrown back at least a quarter of a century in its personnel. The old round will be trodden once more; the old fight fought again. In the mean time, the efficiency of the American navy will suffer; and if it should be put to the ultimate use for which all navies are supposed to be built, a very unpleasant awakening may result."

These are the remarks of a clear-headed student of naval affairs, who is not only competent to judge of them, but who has only friendly feelings for the United States. The time has long since passed when intelligent men in either country have believed it possible for war to occur between Great Britain and the United States; and, indeed, the feeling among such men is that in any war where both countries are involved they would be found fighting side by side. It is, therefore, a matter of keen regret to the thoughtful Englishman that anything should occur to reduce the efficiency of the American navy.

It may occur to some who read this article that the writer, in criticising the navy, is fouling his own nest; but he has believed that, as a patriotic citizen, the time had come to use very plain language, in the hope that the efficiency of the service, to which many years of his life have been devoted, may be maintained at the highest point. We have made a distinct change in our relation to the rest of the world, and have now started out as a world power, with possessions thousands of miles from our own coast, and with hopes of a greatly increasing commerce. If we are to maintain these foreign possessions and to protect this increased commerce, we must have a navy of the utmost efficiency; and as the day of Nelson's sailor-ships has passed, never to return, modern naval efficiency must be derived not only from the quarter-deck but also from below—the domain of the engineer. It is because of his affection for the navy that the writer has penned this criticism.

A FRIEND OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

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THE QUALITY OF EMOTION IN MODERN ART.

BY CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

THE keynote to the art of the Nineteenth Century, the art which is neither official, fashionable, nor commercial, is sadness, heart-searching, misgiving, melancholy—now spiritual, now sensuous—revolt against surrounding circumstance. It is the vain aspiration to realize the ideals of other ages, inevitably checked, saddened, and distorted by the unfriendly atmosphere in which it must force its way up. It is the striving to fuse the poetry of the written word with that of the painted vision, resulting sometimes in a true inter-penetration, but more often in an imperfect transposition, which obscures one form of beauty and fails to attain to the other. It is the weeping into the domain which has not hitherto held them of a thousand visual and mental impressions, of a thousand subtleties of thought and feeling. But it is also, and above all, the attempt to create a new ideal of truth, heroic in fearless sincerity as in all-embracing sympathy. It is the effort, partly, it may be, out of resentment and rebellion, but mainly out of pity and love, to face the grimmest, saddest aspects, the most heart-shattering problems of modern life; to force them, not always with due regard for æsthetic fitness or unfitness, into art; to intensify the atmosphere of tragic horror which surrounds them, to drive into the flesh the thorns which pierce those of humanity, to bleed with its wounds, to curse with its curses, to despair with its despairs.

If there be an element of worship in the art of the century now expired—and great art can lack this element as little as great poetry—it is the worship of humanity, the worship of Nature. For the ideal of beauty, of serenity, of religious gravity, which was that of the Greeks in the great times; for the ideal of spiritual loftiness and detachment from human things—of the

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soul dominating and crushing the despised body—which was that of the Middle Ages; for the ideal of things divine and superhuman plastically realized with the passionate intensity and the analytical truth of things purely terrestrial, which was that of the Fifteenth Century; for the ideal of intellectual freedom, splendor, strength, grace, and suavity revelled in to excess—of passion tempered by, and transposed to, æsthetic beauty and fitness—which was that of the Renaissance at its zenith: for these things, the Nineteenth Century, in its most characteristic, its most sympathetic and appealing phase, has substituted the worship of humanity as it is, with all its gaps, its weaknesses and imperfections, its spiritual and bodily diseases; but also with its pathetic appeal, its element of what must be called the human-divine, its claim, that will not be denied, to infinite pity and infinite love. The greater realists in art of the modern time—not necessarily those who place their offal, their rags, and their vermin in the foreground, and see of humanity nothing but its warts and wrinkles—have gripped it as it is, with something of the passionate sympathy, conquering repulsion, that uplifts St. Julian the Hospitaller, in Flaubert's beautiful tale, when, clasping the leper in his arms, cherishing and consoling him with all the vital warmth of his body, he sees the loathsome crust drop off, the poor sunken eyes turn to suns, the form and features merge into those of Christ, in Whose arms, pardoned and clean of sin, he is borne triumphant to the heavens. The human-divine element is here always, without any such figurative metamorphosis as this; and those are the greatest in modern art, as in modern letters, who, perceiving it, have with the artist's power, correcting and completing that of the seer, shown through the miserable human tenement—fissured, it may be, and ruined—the light burning steady and clear on the altar within.

And the worship of Nature, too, has not been so much the worship of those divine, awe-inspiring appearances which throughout the ages have been recognized, as the perception in her of mysterious moods which to the modern man appear to run parallel with his own, never failing in response, whether of pity, yearning tenderness, joy, or terror, to him who from the depths of his being appeals to her as the Mother. It is the recognition of these mysterious responses, of the human element imported into or inherent in Nature, giving new color, new poignancy to her

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most familiar aspects, which—apart from technical considerations, into which for once it is not proposed to enter—has made the schools of landscape of the Nineteenth Century the greatest that the world has known. I well know that, with a somewhat cheap and superfluous scorn, this view of the inter-connection of man and Nature has been called "the pathetic fallacy"; the obvious and common-sense view being urged that Nature is but the inanimate lyre, resonant only when the hand, the heart and soul of man strike *his* music and not *hers* from her depths. Does it matter so much, after all, if this be so? If to us, the children of to-day, Nature speaks more intimately, more tenderly than to her worshippers of the preceding ages, it is that we embrace her more closely, that we pour all ourselves into her, that we mingle our joys with the radiance of the sunlight transfiguring land and sea, our sighs with the moanings of the winds and the whispers of the woods, our tears with the flow of the waters. Not only do we know her form and outer vesture, her ever-shifting aspects, better than the greatest of the painters of the preceding centuries, but we—that is the great ones in art who speak for us who are of their time—are heart to heart, soul to soul with her. And this is why a Turner, a Bonington, a Crome, a De Wint, a Cotman, a Corot, a Rousseau, a Millet, a Troyon, a Diaz, a Daubigny, a Böcklin, say something to us which even the greatest masters of landscape of the preceding centuries have not said, and cannot be made to say. They touch certain chords on Nature's lyre to which the ears of our forefathers were not attuned; they unveil, to those who are prepared to contemplate them with love and reverence, her subtler and more secret beauties; they evoke, under what the passer-by deems, or has deemed, prosaic, unpaintable ugliness, beauty of another order, the beauty most suggestive of every-day humanity itself, with its humble, pitiful effort, its patient wrestle, ever renewed, with Destiny, impassive and crushing.

All these distinguishing marks are without doubt to be found in the work of great precursors, who by reason of their artistic predominance have given in isolated instances such overpowering expression to the very characteristics which have just now been differentiated as modern as even the greatest among their *epigoni* of to-day cannot be said to have achieved. What world-melancholy can be likened to that of Michelangelo? Like Atlas, he bears the weight of the earth, all its crushing weight of woe, on

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his mighty shoulders! Yet, in these Titanic embodiments of human effort and human anguish overborne by the power of a resistless Fate, he lifts us so high above the mere earth, above its every-day incidents and the toiling ants who people it, that we perceive nothing but gray empty space, through which resounds his loud and bitter cry; and, sick with dismay, long to descend from the sublime heights to which we have been transported on the whirlwind of his genius. And Tintoretto, the mighty Venetian, who in truth, as he boasted, united the color of Titian to the terrible majesty of Michelangelo! Can he not, while showing with a tenfold intensity the human-divine element in beings divine and men the humblest, draw us amazed and unresisting into his sombre dreamland, as sublime as that of Michelangelo himself; and bring before our eyes all the familiar scenes of the great Sacred Drama, without distortion of their true character, yet as world-events, awful in magnitude and in significance? And there is another and an infinitely captivating, a very modern, side to his complex artistic individuality. He tempers on occasion his overwhelming power of direct dramatic representation with an element of poetry, literary rather than purely pictorial, such as gives back indefinably the glamour of Ariosto and his fellows, the Italian Romanticists. He evokes a whole world of chivalry and romance in such a scene as the "St. George delivering the Princess from the Dragon" of the National Gallery; or in that wonderful piece "The Rescue" of the Dresden Gallery. The vision in this last is of young knights strong in valor, in love, and in chastity, as they come, armed *cap-à-pie,* to the foot of some enchanted castle "opening on the foam of perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn," and there reverently receive into their arms fair, drooping women, as pure in their nudity as the foam which, threatening, curls its huge crests over them. Dosso Dossi, that chartered libertine of the Renaissance, whose very vagaries we smilingly and lovingly pardon, comes yet nearer in such inventions as the so-called "Circe" of the Borghese Gallery to Ariosto, and is even more directly inspired by him.

Rembrandt is as indubitably the father of modern art in the one sense as Velazquez is in the other. If in the latter our greatest masters of the brush find an influence so potent that they are still, to the partial extinction of their own individuality, dominated by its overpowering attraction, Rembrandt's authority

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is exercised in higher regions. He is the first, as he remains the chief, exponent of that "religion of humanity," of that gospel of pity, which it is momentarily the fashion to deride as a symptom of decadent weakness, but which, as we shall see, has forever left its impress on all that is noblest in the art of the century now passed. He is the greatest, as he is the first, of those who have seen the human element in the divine, the divine in the human; of those who, embracing humanity with a passion of brotherly love and forgiveness which excludes nothing, make all its joys and sorrows, all its perfections and imperfections, their own. With the magic of his genius, served by an incomparable technical power, but served obediently, as the hand-maiden should serve the mistress, he evokes under the coarsest material envelope the loftiest, the most consoling, visions; he gives the scenes of Bible history and the Life of Christ—painted and told ten thousand times already, ere he saw them anew—with a penetrating pathos, with an appealing truth and simplicity such as no artist, whether of his own or any other time, has hitherto equalled, or approached. Modern sacred art would scarce have had a basis, would scarce have had a starting point, were it not for such inspired creations as the "Pilgrims at Emmaus" and the "Good Samaritan" of the Louvre, the "Manoah" of Dresden, the "Woman taken in Adultery" of the National Gallery, the great cycle of the "Passion" in the Alte Pinakothek of Munich. And who shall say that, with these examples of a realism heroic and sublime in its unflinching adherence to the truth which it transfigures with the glow of an all-penetrating love, Rembrandt does not attain to an ideal as lofty in its way as that of a Phidias, a Leonardo da Vinci or a Raphael? These ideals, of a superhuman beauty and gravity; of a mysterious suavity crowning and tempering the power that holds the whole world in its embrace; of a beauty and harmony composing and ordering to its own ends, and yet preserving undiminished, all the mighty passions, all the intellectual loftiness, of mankind at its highest: these, the world may never hope to see realized again. But can we in truth maintain that even such exalted ideals as those of the solemn Greek or of his Italian children of the Renaissance are higher than that touched by the great Dutch Master, when, with perfect simplicity, yet with a higher intuition than has yet been vouchsafed to any painter, he interprets anew these sacred scenes just now recalled; or puts

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forward the portrait of some wrinkled old woman, who, with all her past history and her present hopes written in her face, fronts the spectator, patiently and confidently awaiting death. Or again, can we recognize anything greater, loftier, more moving in art than those many portraits of the master himself in his solitary old age: the bloated features stamped with the evidence of a tragic and incomprehensible destiny, with the infinite pathos of the unconscious appeal, "What is this that ye have done unto me?" but yet speaking unmistakably of one of the great ones of the earth, one who remains through all this squalor and misery "the captain of his soul"! It is Rembrandt above all who makes us feel that humanity, the most humble, the most abject in its physical imperfection, is greater than anything that we mortals, idealize as we may, can put in its place.

To say that the intense expression of artistic and human personality, coloring and individualizing artistic production, is a main and peculiar characteristic of modern art would be, again, to exaggerate a truth. All great art is the outcome of a supreme power of artistic presentment at the service of a great personality, thus enabled to express itself to the full. What is it that is the chief element of sublimity in the colossal inventions of Michelangelo, if it be not the personality of Michelangelo? What is it that has chiefly held and fascinated the world in the life-work of Leonardo, if it be not the impenetrable mystery that envelopes the personality of Leonardo, the solitary watcher, face to face with the wheels of the world, as they silently move?

It would be approaching nearer to a true definition to say that what in the art of the preceding ages is true in certain main and commanding instances is in modern art true of the majority. The personality of an artist from whom radiates influence is not only an intense, a complete, expression of self, but, with rare exceptions, a summing up of the time from which he issues, and of which, from the very fact that he is of it in his essence, he can develop and bring to maturity the dominant characteristics. Now, the personality of the modern artist can radiate, can communicate itself to widening and ever-widening circles with a rapidity and completeness which it was not given even to the greatest of the preceding centuries to achieve. The reason is to be sought in the fact that from day to day the barriers of feeling, of usage, of language which divide the nations are being oblit-

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erated; that diversity of standpoint is becoming unity; that the unity, in the great essentials, of modern life is, for good or evil, bringing about all over the world unity of thought, of sentiment, of aspiration. A Leonardo, a Giorgione, a Michelangelo, a Raphael, a Rubens, a Rembrandt, a Velazquez, all of them indubitably exercised a far-reaching influence. Their fame penetrated all over Europe; and their schools, their imitators, were not confined to their own country or to their own nationality. But outside their own natural confines of nationality they were admired rather than understood, imitated in externals, yet not truly assimilated. To take for examples four masters of the Seventeenth Century, all of them contemporaries, and each a great artistic centre in his own land: Rembrandt in Holland, Rubens in Flanders, Velazquez in Spain, Guido Reni—how lamentable a descent!—in Italy. The highest celebrity fell to each, even beyond the limits of his own centre and his own land. But can it be truly said that they had any vital element in common; that the art of Rembrandt, apart from the appreciation that great technique commands, could then make a true and direct appeal to Italy and to Spain; that Velazquez could then be sure of comprehension as well as admiration in Holland and Flanders? Beyond the fact that they met occasionally in the unavoidable use of formula consecrated by usage, these four famous masters stood at hardly any given point on common ground.

Now, in modern art, with an infinite divergence of aim and feeling, with a variety of outer aspect and technical standpoint that is absolutely bewildering, there will be revealed to the patient and sympathetic investigator, lurking everywhere beneath the surface, these modern characteristics of sadness, sensuous and spiritual melancholy, misgiving, revolt against surrounding circumstance—this effort to import into it what it never before held or expressed. And in the greatest art of the time, but in that only, will be found this noble, transfiguring realism, this worship of humanity in its humblest as in its most exalted phases, of which Rembrandt is the precursor; this worship of Nature, too, not as the awful mystery, cruel and impenetrable as Fate, but as the consoling Mother, into whose bosom we pour our secrets, to receive her own in return. And this is why—to take a commanding instance—a Jean François Millet appeals to the whole civilized world, and evokes by the largeness of his human sympathy corre-

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sponding sentiments now common to the whole human race. The Flanders of Memling might have admired, but would not have understood, Botticelli, his aims, his half-literary, half-artistic temperament, with its excess of nervous passion and its want of balance. But the true temperament, the true standpoint, of a Burne-Jones, whether his art strongly repel or irresistibly attract, is readily perceived and judged in contemporary France, Flanders, Germany, and America. Even Rembrandt, in the Italy or the England of his time, would have been admired for the grandeur of his chiaroscuro and the sombre richness of his palette, rather than as the apostle of humanity, as the interpreter of the great scenes of Bible history, who dared to tear from them all the outer accretion accumulated by the ages, to present them in their pristine simplicity and purity. But a minor Rembrandt of to-day, Herr Fritz von Uhde, imagines the "Last Supper" with a Christ full of gentleness and pity, surrounded by rugged Bavarian peasants, His Disciples—or the "Nativity," with a choir of quaint little urchin-angels of to-day pouring out their song from the eaves, and overshadowed by them, rough shepherds from the Bavarian Highlands reverently considering the Infant Christ. This much discussed artist, the sincerity of whose art even those who will have none of it cannot deny, at once obtains a hearing, just because the human-divine element of pity and love awakens at once responsive chords not in the breasts of his own fellow-countrymen alone, but in the whole human race.

Seeing that this is so, and why it is so, it is not as strange as it may seem at first sight that those few great artistic personalities of the modern era whose peculiar qualities are exclusively their own, not taken from their surroundings, not drawn from the atmosphere of their time, to be given back to it with a tenfold intensity —a Turner, for instance, in England, an Arnold Böcklin in Germany—that some of these isolated giants, who suffice to themselves, have taken long to break down the barriers of nationality, weakened though they are now by international intercourse. Though they have forced their way to the hearts of their fellow-countrymen, is it surprising that they still beat in vain against the strong wall which shuts them out from the rest of the world?

The most questionable form of artistic emotion in which the Nineteenth Century has indulged is that of pathetic anecdote and lugubrious genre. Such painters as Frank Holl in England,

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Josef Israëls and his followers in Holland, and a whole host of capable painters of the modern Munich school, have revelled in scenes where the sufferer humbly and patiently awaits death, in death-bed partings, funerals, and lamentations over the departed. The emotion thus obtained is but a transient, and not in the highest sense an artistic, emotion. Death is after all so unimportant a moment as compared to all the rest! It is merely the colophon to the chapter of life; and it is surely in the undeciphered text of that chapter, not in its ending, that lies the vast world-tragedy! Death may be represented in art as it is in the *"Trionfo della Morte"* of the Pisan Campo Santo, or in the "Dances of Death" of the Middle Ages and later on of Holbein; or again with the august and consoling symbolism of a Watts. It is there the personification of the all-engrossing problem which every human being has perforce before his eyes. But the fading out of life of the individual, the burning down of the feeble light, may evoke a limited, a superficial and transient emotion; it is not a theme in which great art can ever be profitably engaged. We are for the moment thrilled with the dramatic force and fire of a Gérôme in such famous pieces as the *"Morituri te salutant!"* the "Death of Maréchal Ney" the "Duel in the Snow." But they thrill us just as a stage-scene well presented might do; the impression made—and it has never been more than skin-deep—as easily fades away. If some singularly rare and beautiful example of purely historical or legendary representation more permanently move us, it is because deeper chords have in this instance been struck, chords more surely vibrating to the very heart of humanity. Take but one example: the famous painting *"La Folie du peintre Hugo van der Goes,"* by Emile Wauters, in the Museum of Brussels. The poor, distraught master sits with glaring eyeballs gazing into vacancy, with features all marred by the bitterness of his agony; and to soothe him the pitiful monks, his brothers, have brought with them a band of youthful, sturdy choristers. Obedient, yet, in their innocence, without any thought of what it is they do, the children quietly range themselves at his side and pour forth from sweet lips streams of high, clear song, stainless in purity as that of the angels. As he listens, the staring eyes, scorched with the agony of many days, soften and fill with tears, soon to descend in a healing rain and for one blissful moment quench these fires of hell that burn within. Here we are

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moved not so much by the woes of the great painter, whose light went out more than four hundred years ago, as by the pathetic contrast between the sinless purity of childhood and the agony of distraught manhood, the empty shell from which sorrow has chased reason away; by the suggestion of the consoling power of music as the world-moving power that can penetrate where words no longer find an entrance.

One exquisite and essentially modern phase of artistic emotion is that which results from a true inter-penetration, a true fusion of the literary imagination with the pictorial: not a translation or attempted translation of poetic literature and the loveliness of words into painting, such as Burne-Jones and his school have too often given us; but such an appeal to the eye, and through it to the brain and soul, as shall without conscious effort evoke, enveloping the image thus definitely and pictorially presented, the luminous atmosphere of that dreamland that completes and transfigures it. Such an artistic emotion as this is communicated by the early works of Rossetti, so pathetic in their imperfect yet expressive realization of form and their tragic splendor of color: inventions in which the painter is no more to be dissociated from the poet than is—to use Rossetti's own phrase—the body from the soul. It emanates, too, from such purely human and concrete, yet genuinely imaginative, conceptions as the "Death of Ophelia" and the "Ferdinand and Ariel" of the young Millais, painted in his first freshness, when the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood still held him. And, again, it is the quintessence of the charm that holds us in the visions, so overwhelmingly mournful and pathetic in their very exquisiteness, in their very singularity of strange and superhuman magnificence, of the French Master, Gustave Moreau. The preceding ages have brought forth much art that is greater, franker, more deeply rooted in Nature than his; but nothing precisely like this essentially modern product—the more characteristic of one special phase of modernity in that modernity is so resolutely shut out from it. Limitations of space stand in the way of an analysis of the great pages of Gustave Moreau's life-work, the "Œdipus and the Sphinx," the "King David," "The Apparition," "The Fair Helen," the "Galatea," and the "Fables of La Fontaine." Nothing could be more characteristic of the man than the lurid atmosphere of disquietude, mystery and terror in which he has, consciously or unconsciously, wrapped even these

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famous apologues of the bright, humorous Louis-Quatorzian poet. "The Fair Helen" is a vision of her whose fatal beauty caused the horrid din of war to ring round doomed Troy, awful in its suggestion of a havoc-working Fate controlling her, its impassive instrument and victim. Where Marlowe in his "Faustus" makes her radiant as a celestial appearance—a very constellation in the skies—Moreau shows her an apparition, beautiful, indeed, yet inspiring a vague terror, and claiming that worship which is rendered to the Infernal Deities, rather than the equal passion of love. The little picture, "The Death of Sappho," of which a good many versions exist, exhales something of the vibrant passion and melody of the singer's own immortal verse. She goes to her death in beauty; and as, lyre in hand, she springs from the Leucadian rock, the shores seem to echo her rhythmic plaints, and the welcoming sea to meet them with its own deeper harmonies. It was left for Moreau's pupil and ardent admirer, the much-regretted Ary Renan, to show her with an infinite subtlety of pathos as she lies dead at the bottom of the sea, softly bedded on the nameless things, "rich and strange," that ocean carries at its heart—august still in loveliness, and in this last resting-place sheltered and at peace.

A great exception comes in here, however. This is the lately deceased Swiss painter, Arnold Böcklin. He is at once tragic and serene, boisterous, exuberant, unbridled in the expression of joy and physical delight, yet perfectly healthful, never swept away by his own passion. As audacious in realism, as intoxicated with the *joie de vivre* as a Rubens or a Jordaens—a veritable realist in the regions of the ideal in which he dwells—he is at the same time romantic without the lyrical pessimism of the true romantic school, and in a sense classic, too, in the extraordinary felicity with which he embodies in living, palpitating human form the primeval forces of Nature. The emotion of joy he can express as no modern has expressed it: as in the exquisite *"Frühling's Reigen"* (Spring Revels) of the Dresden Gallery—a perfect embodiment of the pure rapture that attends the re-clothing of Earth in her vesture of spring beauty; or in that wondrous "Sea Idyll" of the New Pinakothek at Munich. Something of the languor and misgiving of the time does appear, indeed, but in their most attractive shape, in the beautiful, melancholy "Villa on the Sea" (Schack Gallery at Munich); but this is melancholy, lofty,

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self-contained, full of resignation to the inevitable. Another jewel of Böcklin's art, perhaps the brightest of all, is in the same collection. In a simple "Italian landscape," wholly without extraneous incident—a villa placed on a gentle slope made bright with its thick carpet of spring flowers, from which we look down upon the rich plain beautified with an imperceptible veil of diaphanous haze—he has indefinably, yet with the most penetrating pathos and beauty, suggested the passionate worship given by the child of the North, as the modern Italian himself cannot give it, to Italy. His serenity, his control over his artistic and human self, do not even leave him in such a tragedy as "The Murderer whom the Furies await" (Schack Gallery), or those tremendous "Combats of Centaurs" in which are embodied the colossal and uncontrollable energies of Nature in eruption.

Whom shall I single out from the great array as the exponents of the human-divine in humanity as it is? Two names suggest themselves at once—those of two artists whose productions, absolutely divergent in outward aim and in technical process, have this in common, that through every manifestation of creative genius goes out a great heart-beat to Man, and to the Nature that speaks of him; that they seek to evolve from the ardent and loving contemplation of Man, as he is, in his place in Nature, a great synthetic picture of the one indissolubly bound to the other, which shall be vast in its generalization, in its aspiration to the higher, the less individualized, truth; yet shall never seek to replace it by the false ideal of freezing conventionality, or lose the consoling human warmth which sends its inward rays straight from the eyes to the heart of the beholder. I refer to Mr. Watts amongst Englishmen, to Jean François Millet among Frenchmen.

No master of the century had painted so great a gallery of portraits, has re-created and interpreted anew for the world so many noble men and gracious women, as Watts; and I venture to say this, bearing in mind the achievements of David, Ingres, Franz von Lenbach, Elie-Delaunay, Bonnat, John Everett Millais, and J. S. Sargent. Physical vitality, the actual moment of being, of volition—these things have been much better represented by others. But the entire man, his past, present, and future, enveloped by the painter in the glow of brotherly love and sympathy, this thing has never been so given in art since the great Venetians painted in the Sixteenth Century, since Rembrandt painted in the

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Seventeenth. Watts's crying sin is that, in the very excess of his yearning love for his fellow man, he must needs play the preacher, must needs step into the pulpit and thence address alternately warnings and consolations to the world. Still, his greater, simpler allegories, "Love and Death," "Time, Death and Judgment," and "Hope," are immortal; and with them I would class for greatness of conception such noble pages of didactic art as "The Repentance of Eve" and "The Death of Cain." How can the world ever forget the white-robed, resistless Death, too mighty for violence or haste, that with majestic gesture thrusts away into nothingness bright, rose-laden Love, who weeps as he drops his burden of earthly joy, but obeys? Or "Hope," the most appealing figure in modern art? Robed in the paler colors of the sky, she is seated on the globe; all about her palpitate the azure heavens, and, set in their clear depth, there thrills the radiance of a single star. Blindfolded and submissive, she weeps as she bends over her lyre, all the cords of which, save the one only, have snapped. But yet she harps on, in patience; for the one string vibrates still, and the star's brightness is still above her. But if the cord snap, or the star be lost in the heavens? What then? This is, indeed, a modern yet a noble "Hope," the creation of one who faces all the misgiving, all the suffering, of mankind, yet refuses to desist from striving, or to despair.

Jean François Millet has assuredly not deliberately reasoned out his view of Man and Nature, as he has so often been accused of doing. His peasants are not consciously "ambitious," as Delacroix once called them. With a synthetic power like to that of the Greeks, and built, much in the way that they built, on the basis of a resolute and sustained study of Nature, Millet has evolved all the rhythmic beauty of outline and movement that is in the humblest human creatures; so setting them, moreover, in their right place in Nature that the one cannot be conceived of without the other. But much more than this. Not, like Watts, by attempted argument, but by the irresistible impression on the eye, the heart, and soul of the beholder of the painted image, enlarged to the proportions of heroic truth, he has presented, through the individual peasant, the type, not only of the rustic, but of Man; he has shown humanity perpetually tied to, perpetually grappling with, Nature, sometimes a mother, sometimes, alas! a cruel stepmother. He has shown man face to face with the

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simplest, the vastest, problems of life and eternity. If the "Gleaners" of the Louvre has all the noble, sweeping movement of a fine Greek relief, there must be placed high above it the famous "Sower," the splendid rhythm, the solemn conception, of which suggest mysteriously, beyond the patient endurance, beyond the mortality, of the individual, the eternity of life, the everlasting *"werden"* or progression of the world. The spiritual beauty of the "Angélus" has with such irresistible appeal made its way to all hearts that it need not here be analyzed afresh. But "The Shepherdess"—surrounded by her quiet flock of sheep looming large against the sky—face to face, as she knits, with the great, insoluble problems of the universe unrolled before her, yet undecipherable! Or the peasant mother watching over her child by candle-light in the quiet night! Or the shepherd bringing his flock to the fold under the deep, mysterious azure of the star-light! Millet rises, perhaps, higher still when he depicts the limitless plain at sunrise or sunset, giving, with its gentle, never-ending undulations and its final merging into the sky, a conception of sublimity far higher than that which could be evoked by the loftiest mountain with its peaks aspiring to the very heavens! *"L'Homme à la Houe,"* with *"Le Vigneron,"* is an exception in the life-work of the French master, since it is full of conscious revolt, of conscious protest. This strong repellent rustic, who, beneath the gray skies, laboring far from his fellows, strikes his hoe into the earth, and rests for one moment—beyond hope as he is beyond despair—has the power to endure, yet not with uncomplaining acquiescence to accept the crushing load imposed by Fate. A bitter note of revolt, an arraignment of Providence, seems to ring through the air as we gaze—the protest, less of the suffering creature, too stolid to challenge his enemy, than of Millet himself, who for once deliberately sets to work to disquiet and affright us with the very simplicity of a terrible truth.

Puvis de Chavannes stands alone among his contemporaries as the monumental decorator who, in modern times, has first broken away from the formula of the Sixteenth Century, worn with too constant usage; as the master who, while seeming to emulate the large and expressive simplicity of Giotto and the Sienese of the Fourteenth Century—a simplicity arrived at, however, by an entirely different and, indeed, an absolutely opposite process—has maintained a standpoint entirely lofty and noble, and, for all its

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resolute selection of the essential only, entirely modern. Comparisons have often been drawn between Puvis de Chavannes on the one hand and Burne-Jones on the other; but none could possibly be less fruitful, unless they be made to show that in spirit the art of the one is absolutely the antithesis of the art of the other. The life-work of Burne-Jones is a protest against what seems to him dreary, sordid, and unlovely in the world into which he is born. His art suggests a lifting of garments in sadness, in aversion and disgust, so that the thorns and the thistles which sting and disfigure humanity may not cling to them. He will make for himself a paradise of glowing, shifting color, of delicate fancies, the reflection of the poet's dreams—a paradise in which, to stimulate the appetite jaded by the fulness of perfection in art, the forms shall be those of the Florentines and the Paduans of the Fifteenth Century; with a step forwards on occasion toward Leonardo da Vinci, but as frequently with a great step backwards toward the Twelfth Century and the great stone images of Chartres. But how sorry and empty a paradise is this world of his, which knows neither joy nor sorrow, but only the overmastering languor of exhaustion and despair! In the *"Chant d'Amour"* Burne-Jones has sought, and not wholly without success, to combine the beauties of Botticelli and Giorgione. Yet within the golden casket so fair to the eye what mournful emptiness, what a lack of all true passion and vitality! His great "Fortune," a magnificent piece of work of its kind, is a huge, looming Fate, sleeping the world-sleep, as, unmindful and unconscious, she moves the immeasurable Wheel on which king and beggar alike are whirled through space. Of Hope—even the Hope of Watts, sister to Despair—there is no question. Doubts or misgivings in connection with the destiny of man do not even suggest themselves; they are, save as quaint conceits and emblems, outside the interests of this curious and consummate master.

Puvis de Chavannes, even though these generalized and rhythmically harmonious compositions of his, with their muted yet incomparably effective harmonies—of blue, purple, violet, lilac, palest yellows, and silver whites—are in their vaporous ideality of no place and of no time, bases his entire art on the worship of humanity throughout the ages; but above all *he* dwells in his *own* time. He sees it from above, so that its smallnesses and disfiguring blots vanish, and expresses his great conception in

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visions of pure and consoling beauty, in which the belief in the human race and its destinies triumphantly asserts itself. Though in his life-work the appealing note of doubt and despondency is not wholly wanting—we recognize it, for instance, in the pathetic *"Pauvre Pêcheur"* of the Luxembourg—the great French master looks forward resolutely and with a noble serenity, from which, all the same, close kinship and a kind of watchful sympathy with humanity are never absent. In this, as in many other respects, he stands almost solitary in his century.

Nothing is more disappointing than the absence of the deeper human note in the work of one of the greatest living masters of the brush—*the* greatest, I had almost said—Mr. J. S. Sargent. He descends from two of the most admirable, yet two of the coldest and most self-possessed, of masters—from Velazquez on the one side, from Sir Joshua Reynolds on the other. Of the one he has the singular power of expressive and wholly unconventional pictorial statement which makes every subject that he approaches his own, and, moreover, the wonderful strength and certainty of execution; of the other he has the audacious momentariness, the delight in the exterior graces of womanhood, the delight also in the vigor of intellectual manhood. They strangely misunderstand him who read into his work sarcasm, contemptuous cynicism, the deliberate effort to bring to the surface hidden defects of mind and body. He prefers, as we must infer, to keep humanity at arms' length; to sum up its physical and mental characteristics, without any diving into hidden depths such as only the intuition born of a patient and loving sympathy can lay bare; to study its outward appearances with a keen but never malevolent curiosity; to fasten upon those points which he deems vital and expressive, and by emphasizing them, to amuse himself, and relieve with a sharp and stimulating accent of his own the monotony of the human individuality in its modern aspects and developments. Mr. Sargent appears feverish in the excess of his vitality; yet, beneath this purely exterior characteristic, he is serene and unruffled. But from this serenity no vivifying warmth goes out; and there is in this very want, this very incapacity to get to the heart of things, on the part of one of the most strenuous and brilliant artists of the time, something intensely pathetic. We are surprised, astonished, delighted by unceasing displays of inventiveness and power in his vast gallery of portraits; but never

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deeply moved, as at their best a Watts, a Lenbach, a Millais have power to move us.

And now come the worshippers of Nature, a great band, who have expressed more, if more vaguely, than even those among their fellows whose study has been Man, or Nature chiefly as the setting of Man. Landscape art at its highest is in this akin to music, that it can evoke a thousand impressions, a thousand emotions, which evaporate altogether when we strive to crystallize them into words. Thus, to attempt in a few bald phrases a definition of the artistic idiosyncrasy, the power to move, of a great master of landscape, of a great nature-worshipper, is to be overbold, and, I fear, to court failure. The earlier half of the century is overshadowed in England by the gigantic individuality of Turner—no figure representing and summing up his own time, but a colossus rising solitary from the plain, and cloud-crowned round its summit. He is ever, even in his first period, the high-priest of Nature, approaching her simplest and most familiar aspects with a kind of religious gravity and awe. In his second period, he takes great joy in the myriad beauties of the world, as they unfold themselves in every direction to his astonished and delighted gaze. It is the last and greatest period, however, that shows the true Turner, the Titan oppressed by an overwhelming world-sadness. He is then no longer content to interpret Nature, to revel in every detail of her loveliness, but aspires to mould her to his own ends, to fuse her in the crucible of his genius, to extract from her appearances, that but serve as the starting point for his fiery conceptions, dream-visions as radiantly beautiful, in their dazzling vesture of light and color, as they are infinitely mournful; and mournful with a sadness that is not of humanity, but, as it were, of some archangel brooding over infinite beauty and infinite woe. To this final phase of Turner's production the much-abused phrase "*Le paysage est un état d'âme*," may, nay must, be applied, if it is to be understood. Even in this period—in such miracles of the brush, for instance, as "The Burial of Wilkie" and "Rain, Steam, and Speed," at the National Gallery—he pauses, on occasion, to represent, to evoke, to suggest, as no landscape painter ever did before. It is here, indeed, that he is the arch-impressionist; but he begins, let us remember, where the impressionists of a later day leave off, inasmuch as, beyond the shifting appearances, beyond the mere outward phenomena of the

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world, he, half lifting the veil, shows the hidden depths that through the eye make indelible impression on the imagination. But, more often, the painted vision serves less to reveal sublime beauties of earth and sky—of those that none but he has attempted to fix on the canvas—than unconsciously to lay bare the yearnings of a great human soul, whose pain, having no human origin, can by no means be assuaged.

It is among the poet-painters of France, and chiefly among those whom, for the sake of convenience, we still class roughly as of the Barbizon school, that we find the truest interpreters of Nature, those who most pathetically and reverently draw to the surface the mysterious analogies between her moods and those of man. With Jean François Millet we have already dealt. Corot is among the most serene of moderns; he has something of the contemplative melancholy of a Claude, but none of the world-sadness of a Turner. For him the hum of the world, the turmoil, the storm and stress of life are not, indeed, put away, but put a little on one side. His are the moments of exquisite pause, when Man and Nature are one in a gentle and reposeful harmony, when he, resting in her bosom, dreams beautiful, soothing dreams, disturbed by no harsh note of struggle or suffering, yet suffused with the human warmth without which there is no true nobility, no true beauty. Daubigny is nearer our hearts. It is he above all who in these humble, everyday scenes, of no awe-striking or romantic majesty, pictures human life as it is, and shows Nature the Consoler, the Mother. With no forced note, with no distortion of natural truth, he expresses youth and hope in some orchard-scene in the blossom-laden spring; foreboding or despair in some lurid, fitful moonrise over unfruitful fields; calm, resignation, the pathetic acceptance of the inevitable, in those appealing river-scenes in which the quiet stream flows, familiar and confiding, through banks green to the edge, bearing on its slope some village hamlet with its crown of church towers. Théodore Rousseau, more various, more dramatic in his interpretations, has expressed in almost every phase of Nature almost every mood of man—the serene, the reposeful, the tragic alike. Troyon is the coldest, the most composed, of the group, and his too unruffled serenity, his absolute self-control, but rarely appeal to the beholder. There are great exceptions, however, in his life-work, and among them that beautiful morning scene in the Louvre,

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"Boeufs se rendant au Labour," which breathes forth in all simplicity a spirit of hope, of thanksgiving and prayer. Claude Monet, the greatest living landscape painter of his school, the *chef-d'école* of the elder impressionists, looks at Nature from a wholly different standpoint. He delights in her beauty for itself, and not for anything that it suggests. He is content to stand as the admiring onlooker, to note—as he does with a magic skill that few, if any, have possessed before him—the rush of the wind through the shining leaves and over the cornfields blazing with their red and gold; the snow-scene of gray-green, black and silver, lovely in its very nakedness; the sparkle of the winter air and the prismatic radiance of the clear winter sunset. Humanity indefinably at the heart of all these lovely appearances, which he is content to admire for themselves and to present with dazzling brilliancy, but which he cannot assimilate and interpret anew, as one would who had them in his very soul: this is what Monet does not suggest. And this is why his art, epoch-making as it is as regards technique, has obtained no greater hold on the world.

Mr. Whistler, with that splendid arrogance of his, so nearly akin to that of Lucifer himself, would, no doubt, scornfully repudiate any interpreter or any interpretation of his work. And yet his art is for the world, and by the world he must ultimately be judged. It is not alone the subtlety of vision, the certainty of hand, the reticence in beauty, shown in these "Nocturnes in Blue and Gold," these "Symphonies" and "Notes" of his, that make them memorable things. It is also a certain harmonious and moving beauty in the presentment, which, omitting everything unessential from the artist's point of view, yet leaves a vision no less soothing to the soul than to the eye. He is the poet-painter who has taught us to see the loveliness of the Thames at night, the fairness of the great throbbing city wrapped in her luminous veil and put to rest; as Wordsworth was the poet who taught us to see its unsullied morning beauties. Save that the bard sings of sunrise, and the painter loves to depict the pale azure of evening, with its accents of golden light, we might perfectly well apply to some of Mr. Whistler's "Nocturnes" the famous lines:

> "Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep.
> The river glideth at his own sweet will:
> Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
> And all that mighty heart is lying still!"

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It is too early to indulge in prognostications as to the future of art in the new century, at the very threshold of which we still stand. That the art will be as the life may be accepted as certain, judging from the past. Unless by standing still it is to freeze, and become meaningless in its repetition of pictorial ideas and formulas, of phases of feeling and modes of expression, which in the Nineteenth Century evolved themselves naturally out of a period of extraordinary change and extraordinary perturbation. The attempt has here been to show this period as one of doubt and despondency that has yet not been content with mere negation; of heart-searching and of struggle, no less internal than external; of pathetic striving after new ideals and new objects of worship. The art of the Nineteenth Century may compare, if not in the greatness of its protagonists, or in the artistic worth of the treasure left behind, yet in the wonderful variety of its productions, in the intensity of its passionate effort in every direction, with that of any preceding period. In one respect it has an interest to which that of even the greatest epochs cannot pretend in the same measure. To those who know how to read it reveals every shade of feeling, every shade of thought, every aspiration of the time which it represents; it constitutes an invaluable commentary on what we may call the psychical history of the human race during the period which it covers—that history which can never in its subtlest phases be exhaustively set out in words. The true glory of this art, when it is seen from the right distance by those who are to come after us, will surely be that, in its noblest and most vital aspects, it has been colored throughout with an ardent love and sympathy for humanity as it is, with a true sense of the beauty that is in it, not because it may be lifted by genius, by heroism, by spiritual or physical beauty, to heights sublime above the common level of man, but just because it is human, and therefore partakes of the Divine. If it be asked what divinity, above all others, is worshipped in this art, the answer will be the *"Deus Caritatis,"* the God of Pity and of Love.

CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

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CHINESE EXCLUSION IN AUSTRALIA.

BY HUGH H. LUSK.

THE first legislation of the first Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth has taken the form of two statutes intended to secure what is called "A White Australia." To people unacquainted with the circumstances and politics of the new Anglo-Saxon Federation the name may need some explanation, and it may even be a matter of surprise that such a subject should have been the first to occupy the attention of the Legislature. But at the election of the first Commonwealth Parliament no question, unless it might be that of the fiscal policy of the Federation, was more hotly debated, and on none at all was there so strong a feeling displayed. To understand this, it is necessary to appreciate fully the position of Australia as a country, and something at any rate of the political conditions of its people.

In some respects, the circumstances of Australia to-day greatly resemble those of America at the beginning of the last century. In both countries we have the spectacle of a very small population, settled along the sea-coast on one side of a country so vast in area as to seem ridiculously out of proportion to the number of its inhabitants. In both cases the wealth of the country is enormous, but its extent wholly unascertained, and perhaps on that very account all the more likely to prove attractive to adventurous spirits from older and more thickly peopled countries. So far, Australia to-day might seem almost a repetition of America at the opening of the century just completed. At this point, however, the parallel ceases in some most important respects. A century ago America opened her arms wide to welcome all comers to assist in the task of colonizing her unexplored territories, and developing the as yet hardly dreamed of resources of the country; Australia feels that she cannot follow this ex-

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ample with any prospect of the same success. The reason lies principally in the different geographical positions of the two countries, but to some extent also in changes which a century of development has brought forth.

Europe, and especially the British isles, was the natural feeder of the population of America a century ago. There was little cause for apprehension as to the class of immigrants likely to be attracted; in Australia to-day the case is entirely different. Not Europe but Asia is the densely peopled continent which may be said to adjoin Australia, and it is a continent which experience has already shown to have no emigrating classes likely to prove a permanent benefit to the country in which they might settle. India, China, Japan, these are Australia's nearest neighbors among nations possessed of surplus population; and it is not surprising that the English-speaking people who possess and propose to develop the continent of the South Pacific are unwilling to accept them as partners in the undertaking. Both China and Japan have already shown themselves something more than willing to offer themselves for the work. For the last twenty-five years there has been a steady stream of immigration from China to the settled districts of all the colonies now united in the Commonwealth, which various legislative expedients have served only very partially to check. The influx of Japanese has been much more recent, and up to this time no attempt has been made to control it, though it has been looked on with uneasiness during the last three or four years. In the case of India, there has been no spontaneous emigration to Australia, but for some years there has been a legalized traffic in contract labor between the Madras Presidency of British India and the colony of Queensland, and several thousand laborers have been introduced every year.

Thus the settled districts of Australia have been exposed, for a good many years past, to what has seemed to the settlers of European races a serious danger of deterioration, owing to the introduction of Asiatic races, with wholly different ideas and traditions from their own, and accustomed to entirely different standards of living. This danger has been increased by the fact that the unsettled part of Australia was that which lay nearest and was by far the most accessible to Asiatic intruders, a circumstance which has been brought home to them because the gold

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fields along the northern coasts have been largely, indeed mainly, occupied by Chinese. The situation in Australia, accordingly, has been, in effect, very similar to what it would have been in America fifty years ago or more, had the surplus millions of China and Japan been possessed by the spirit of enterprise which has seized them of late, and had there been no overland route available when the gold discoveries were made in California. The risk of a wave of Asiatic colonization sweeping over America's western coasts would in such a state of things have been greatly increased. This is the danger which has been apprehended in Australia of late.

Two difficulties have confronted the Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth in dealing with the question of Asiatic exclusion, and the legislation introduced has been directed to dealing separately with Asiatic peoples. There was, first, the general question of warding off the wholesale introduction of immigrants likely to lower the standard of the future population of Australia; and, next, the putting an end to the traffic in labor by the settlers in Queensland which was calculated to have a similar result in a form even more objectionable. It may be said with regard to the first question that there was nothing that could be called a difference of opinion throughout the country. There are already a good many Chinese in every one of the states of the Commonwealth, forming a percentage of the population at least five times as great as it does in America, and they are popular in none. That they are hard-working, frugal and, on the whole, fairly inoffensive and law-abiding people, is admitted everywhere; but they are essentially a people apart, incapable of really adopting, or adapting themselves to, the standards of the white race which holds the continent, and the feeling may be said to be universal which demands their exclusion. The Japanese are more popular in Australia than the Chinese, but the same objections are felt to apply to them; and it is even probable that they owe any advantage they have in popular estimation rather to their smaller numbers than to anything else.

The question which had to be met, therefore, in dealing with the proposed exclusion of the Mongolian races from Australia, was not the propriety of their exclusion, but the method of giving effect to it. The re-enactment of a Chinese exclusion act in America is a simple thing. There is, of course, the question of

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Chinese or Japanese sensibility to be considered; but if the public sentiment is in favor of risking any loss of popularity at Peking or Tokio which may be involved, there is an end of the matter. China may feel that America is, after all, not so very much more sympathetic than other foreign devils, and Japan may feel offended to think that even now her people are regarded as less desirable than certain European peoples whose arrival in Japan would hardly be esteemed a benefit. Yet, if Congress thinks fit to exclude them, little will be said on the subject. The position of Australia is different. It is one of the inevitable drawbacks of incorporation in an Empire so extended as that of Great Britain that questions of primarily local concern in one of its divisions cannot be dealt with independently of the interests of the other divisions. The Commonwealth of Australia has been accorded the fullest possible powers of self-government; yet, when its Parliament proceeded to legislate for the effectual exclusion of undesirable emigration a difficulty presented itself.

The desire of the people and Parliament was to put a stop to the introduction of Chinese or Japanese immigrants by a statute that should say so in plain and unmistakable language. Other methods had been tried by the separate colonies already, such as the imposition of special poll-taxes, and the requirement of capital in the hands of the immigrants; but all had been cleverly evaded. When the promised bill was brought before Parliament by the Government, however, it was found that it contained no mention of either of the countries intended to be specially affected by its provisions. Instead of this, it took the form of an act which applied, or at any rate might in the discretion of the Executive be made to apply, to immigrants from Germany, France, Italy or America, as well as from China and Japan. A very simple educational test is, in fact, the only safeguard provided. It is required that every immigrant shall be compelled to make a written application for admission in one of certain European languages, or in English, before the proper official.

To the natural criticism, which was offered in no uncertain way by the Opposition, that it could certainly be evaded with ease by any smart Chinese or Japanese immigrant, the reply was that, in the interests of the trade of the Empire—which means, of course, of Great Britain—it was considered most unwise to antagonize either China or Japan at present. It was admitted by the Com-

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monwealth Government that this was, in fact, the result of consultation with the Imperial Cabinet, and that if it were ignored by the Federal Parliament the assent of the Crown—which is required for every statute calculated to affect in any way the external relations of the Empire—might, and probably would, be withheld from it. Not a few opinions, both in and out of Parliament, were in favor of passing an act really calculated to give effect to the mind of the country, and, in case it should be disallowed, passing it again until the British Ministry should give way. It is even probable that nothing short of the appeal made by the Cabinet against taking any step to embarrass the Imperial Government at a time of exceptional difficulty would have induced the majority to accept the measure as proposed.

The Government, however, profess to be confident that the statute will answer every practical purpose of exclusion. They maintain that the demand of a written application in one or other of four or five European languages will prove as effectual a barrier to the Mongolian as heart could wish, and there is little doubt it could be made so. On the other hand, there are many objections to a system which relies for its success on what may well require a strained interpretation of the law; and it may even be doubted whether in the end the outrage to national sentiment involved may not prove quite as great as the more straightforward course approved by the public opinion of Australia. One thing, moreover, is certain: if the statute is to remain it must justify itself by proving effectual.

It is recognized that Australia has at present very little interest in any mere educational test for immigrants. It is certain, indeed, that the experience of a single month of the European arrivals at the port of New York, if it could be transferred to Sydney or Melbourne, would create an overwhelming sentiment in its favor; but of this there is at present no chance whatever. While America is open to receive the ignorant classes of Europe with little or no restraint upon their admission, these classes will certainly come here. As long as the standard of affluence which entitles the Italian, Russian or Czech immigrant to escape the charge of pauperism is so modest that it is less than the difference between the passage rates to this country and Australia, so long the number of very poor and illiterate Europeans seeking admission to any part of Australasia will be trifling

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indeed. The statute just passed is, therefore, a pretence so far as the purposes which on its face it appears to be designed to effect are concerned, and like all such pretences it is only too likely to result in failure, and to lead to trouble.

There is, however, a second, and in some respects even a more important, respect in which the ideal of "a white Australia" is in danger. Fully one-third of Australia is situated within the tropics, and another third of it may be said to be sub-tropical in its climate. The problem how white labor is to be utilized for agriculture under such conditions is one which cannot be answered from experience. This problem has not been pressing in any part of Australia except the colony of Queensland. Tropical Australia is as yet practically unoccupied, much of it indeed unexplored, in the great states of West and South Australia, and for years to come this is likely to be the case, owing to the comparative smallness of the rainfall in those districts of the continent. In Queensland the position is entirely different. Possessed of a larger proportion of tropical country than any of the other states, it has also the most fertile land, and, at any rate in its eastern districts, a heavier rainfall than any other part of Australia. It is now nearly a generation since the settlers began to pursue the special lines of agriculture for which the soil and climate appeared suitable, and from the first they have done so by the use of what may be called servile labor. The natives of Australia itself were never available as laborers. But a traffic was set up in what was called Kanaka labor, for the supply of the sugar, cotton and other tropical and sub-tropical industries that were established. This traffic was, and still is, recognized by law, and was carried on subject to regulation and official oversight by the government of the colony. The Kanakas were the natives of all or any of the island groups that lie scattered widely over the South Pacific within the tropics, but particularly those lying within easy reach of the eastern coast of Australia; and only within the last six or seven years has it been necessary to go farther afield.

When these sources failed, steps were taken to supply the tropical labor market by a system of contracts under which the Government of India was prepared to sanction the deportation of natives of southern India to Queensland as laborers for definite periods, subject to a Government guarantee for their good treatment and return at the end of their term of contract. This sys-

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tem has certainly served to supply the tropical labor market of Queensland with whatever number of hands might be required.

It is probably needless to enter at length upon the objections to its continuance, as most of these lie on the surface. It is not necessary to suppose that what may be termed serious abuses of the system exist, to understand that it is viewed with intense suspicion and dislike by the settlers in every one of the other states of the new Commonwealth. That there have been some abuses is undeniable, indeed, but not more, probably, than are inseparable from any such system of servile labor. The feeling in every part of Australia outside the borders of Queensland has been in favor of its complete abolition, and even in Queensland there is a division of opinion. There, as elsewhere in Australia, the influence of organized labor is powerful, and indeed it was this alone that secured a majority vote in favor of joining the Federation. Yet the obstacles in the way of its speedy and complete abolition have been found to be very considerable. The fact that it had been established and fully recognized by law for many years, and that large and important industries have grown up dependent upon it, gives it on a small scale a curious resemblance to the old slavery problem of this country. It was understood, indeed, that an act would be passed to make provision for the extinction of the traffic in contract labor by degrees, and it appeared at first that no more would be proposed than a gradual diminution in the number that might be annually imported. This, it soon became evident, would not satisfy the Labor party, which constitutes fully one-fifth of the voting power in the Representative Chamber, and the Cabinet brought in a bill absolutely prohibiting the further introduction of contract laborers.

The effect of the statute will be to compel the deportation of all the present contract laborers, whether Kanaka or Indian, immediately on the termination of their existing contracts, and to absolutely forbid the introduction of any others to take their places in the future. As might have been expected, the form which the act has taken has created very strong feeling and strenuous protest in Queensland. It is stated that its effect will be utterly to destroy the special industries in which the Queenslanders have been encouraged by their own Legislature to embark much capital, of which the sugar-cane industry is by far the most important; and feeling has run so high that threats of forci-

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ble withdrawal from the new Federation have been made. It is alleged that under the law, if strictly interpreted, there would not remain an imported colored laborer in the state in three years' time, and that this would mean inevitable ruin to thousands in the country, as well as the total loss of much English capital embarked in the business. It is argued, on the other hand, that experience shows that colored labor is not essential to the sugar industry at any rate, as it has been prosperously carried on in the coastal districts of northeastern New South Wales for a good many years, where no colored labor has ever been introduced. But it is also asserted without compromise by the very great majority in the other five states of the Commonwealth that, even if need be at the cost of great financial loss, the contract labor traffic must cease, and must cease now.

There can be little question that Australia has done wisely in dealing with this question at once, as it was one that must have become only the more serious and difficult the longer it was delayed. The continued existence of any arrangement that cast a doubt upon the doctrine that Australia was to be essentially a country of free men, possessed of equal rights—which necessarily means of white men—must have sown the seeds of future trouble, more even than in any country less accessible to colored races, and offering fewer inducements for their employment. It may well be that justice may demand some special concession or compensation to the people of Queensland for the financial sacrifice they are called on to make for the sake of the Federation, but this can hardly be dealt with till it is ascertained that the industries cannot be successfully carried on by means of white labor. Should it be found that such is the case, it may be safely asserted that compensation in some form will be made to the people of Queensland by the people of the Commonwealth, who will consider any reasonable sacrifice cheap which rids the country of a serious danger. Should it prove, as has been confidently asserted, that European labor can be successfully used for such pursuits in tropical Australia, a most important fact will be ascertained which may well have a wider application and a more important bearing on the world's future than even that of securing for the continent of the South Pacific the unquestionable destiny of being, and remaining, a White Australia.

HUGH H. LUSK.

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THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY S. A. KNOPF, M.D.

PERHAPS at no epoch in the history of phthisiology, or, for that matter, in the history of medicine in general, has the singular disease called consumption or pulmonary tuberculosis been so much written and talked about as at the present time. Every civilized country has its anti-tuberculosis movement. In our own country, there has been of late a great awakening in the minds of all public-spirited men and women, inside and outside of the medical profession, to the importance of this question. The recent declaration of the United States government, through the Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service, that pulmonary tuberculosis is a dangerous, contagious disease, and that all immigrants and visitors to this country, whether paupers or not, must be debarred from our ports when suffering from tuberculosis, has added to the intense interest taken in the matter by millions of American citizens. Whether themselves ill with the disease or having a consumptive friend or relative, whether having consumptives in their employ, or being simply interested from a humanitarian sentiment, all thoughtful people realize that, if the government is right and consumption is really contagious, the solution of the tuberculosis problem must be much more difficult than has been supposed.

Happily this is not so. In the light of our present knowledge pulmonary tuberculosis is not a dangerously contagious disease, but only a communicable one. To be in contact with a tuberculous individual who takes care of his expectoration or other secretions which may contain the bacilli, is not dangerous. In sanatoria for consumptives where the precautions concerning the sputum are most strictly adhered to, one is perhaps safer from

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contracting tuberculosis than anywhere else. The great danger from infection lies in the indiscriminate deposit of sputum containing the bacilli, which, when dry and pulverized, may be inhaled by susceptible individuals and then cause the disease to be developed. The communication of the germ of the disease is, however, less obscure to us in its process, and far more easily guarded against, than the contagion arising from such maladies as diphtheria, scarlet fever, or small-pox. The contact alone of a consumptive does not convey the disease; herein lies the difference between communicable and contagious. Therefore, to consider the careful, conscientious consumptive an individual afflicted with a dangerous, contagious disease, is unscientific, unjust, and inhumane.

Pauper immigrants should not be allowed to land, whether tuberculous or not; but there should be some discrimination when well-to-do tuberculous immigrants or foreign consumptive visitors come to our shores. But this new law makes no distinction. The Immigration Commissioner, Hart H. North of San Francisco, who had some doubt about the ruling, communicated with the authorities in Washington, and received the reply that in regard to barring consumptives from American ports there was to be no class distinction, but that all must be treated alike. Will we not by such measures subject ourselves to retaliation on the part of other governments? Wealthy American pulmonary invalids who have been in the habit of seeking restoration to health in the various European health-resorts, may no longer have this hospitality extended to them.

The new regulation classifying tuberculosis as a dangerous, contagious disease has only been in operation for a few months, but consequences have already followed. It has increased the fear of people to associate with consumptives. Healthy employees have been discharged, because it had been reported that they were living with a consumptive relative. Whole communities, located in especially favorable climates, which formerly permitted their unsupervised boarding-houses to be crowded with consumptives—which was unwise and unsafe—go now to the opposite extreme, and will not permit well-conducted sanatoria in their vicinity. Yet sanatoria are not only healing institutions, but veritable schools of hygiene, and serve as examples to the community in which they are located. Thus, carefully kept statistics, covering

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a period of fifty years, conclusively prove that, since the establishment of sanatoria for consumptives, the mortality from tuberculosis among the villagers of Goerbersdorf and Falkenstein—two places where five of the most flourishing German sanatoria now exist—has actually been decreased by one-third of that which it was before the establishment of the institutions.

If we exaggerate the danger of the transmissibility of tuberculosis, we only create a new disease which we may justly call phthisiophobia. As the distinguished editor of the *New York Medical Journal*, Dr. Foster, very properly puts it:

"What the people need to be taught—and they have already partly learned the lesson—is not that tuberculosis is a monster to be fled from, but that it is a danger which can be effectually overcome."

Of all communicable diseases, pulmonary tuberculosis is the most easily prevented. With what comparative ease this prevention can be accomplished by educating (not frightening) the masses into obedience to sanitary regulations, has been shown by the splendid work done by the New York Board of Health, under the direction of Dr. Hermann M. Biggs. In spite of the great lack of hospital facilities, it has been possible during the past few years to reduce the mortality from tuberculosis in New York in a most remarkable degree, and that through preventive measures alone. These consisted in instructing the family with whom the consumptive was living, verbally through health inspectors, and by the distribution of appropriate literature; yet Dr. Biggs insists in all his writings that pulmonary tuberculosis is only a communicable disease, and not a contagious one. In the circular issued by him for the New York Board of Health, which circular has since served as a model to many European and American health boards, he goes so far as to say:

"If the matter coughed up be properly destroyed, a person suffering from consumption may frequently not only do his usual work without giving the disease to others, but may also thus improve his own condition and his chances of getting well."

At the last London Congress of Tuberculosis, no less an authority than Professor Koch endorsed this view most heartily, speaking in words of highest praise of Professor Biggs's effective methods of combating tuberculosis.

It may not be without interest to mention here the opinions of some other leading American medical men on the subject in gen-

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eral, and on the Treasury Department's action in particular. Professor E. G. Janeway, Dean of the New York University and Bellevue Medical College, distinctly declares pulmonary tuberculosis a communicable and not a dangerous, contagious disease. Dr. Geo. F. Shrady, Editor of the *New York Medical Record,* Dr. Geo. M. Gould, Editor of *American Medicine,* and Dr. Geo. B. Fowler, ex-President of the New York County Medical Society, express the same opinion and utter a warning against the dangerous consequences of the spreading of exaggerated fears concerning the transmission of tuberculosis.

The writer of this article presented some weeks ago to the New York Academy of Medicine the following resolutions, which were adopted at the regular meeting of the Academy on February 6th, 1902:

"*Whereas,* The Treasury Department of the United States, upon recommendation of the Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service, has recently decided to classify pulmonary tuberculosis with dangerous, contagious diseases, be it

"*Resolved,* That the New York Academy of Medicine deeply deplores this decision, which is not based either on clinical experience or on scientific experiments;

"*Resolved,* That the Academy considers the exclusion of non-pauper tuberculous immigrants and consumptive aliens visiting our shores, unwise, inhumane, and contrary to the dictates of justice.

"*Be it further Resolved,* That, while the Academy is convinced of the communicability of tuberculosis and urges all possible precautions against the spread of the disease occasioned by sputum and tuberculous food, the Academy is opposed to all measures by which needless hardship is imposed upon the consumptive individual, his family, and his physician."

Professor Geo. L. Peabody, of Columbia University, Professor Andrew H. Smith, of the Post-Graduate Medical School, and Professor Wm. H. Thomson, of Cornell University, supported these resolutions, and urged their adoption in the interest of science and humanity. Dr. T. Mitchell Prudden, Professor of Pathology and Bacteriology at Columbia University, who was detained from being present at the meeting, wrote to the framer of the resolutions as follows:

"I regret that I cannot be present at the meeting of the Academy of Medicine on Thursday evening, and so shall not be able to speak, as I should like to do, in favor of the resolutions concerning the ruling of the Treasury Department on tuberculosis. I think that the resolutions admirably cover the ground of a dignified and earnest protest. It is, indeed, discouraging that the advice upon which the Treasury Department

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of the United States appears to have acted in this matter, in this period of growing enlightenment regarding infectious disease in general and tuberculosis in particular, should ignore the revelations of two decades of beneficent research, and imply so crude a conception of the solution which modern science has to offer to this serious problem of preventive medicine."

Dr. Alvah H. Doty, the Health Officer of the Port of New York, who was likewise prevented from being present at the meeting, expressed himself in a letter to the author of the resolutions in a similar strain, and added:

"I shall be glad to have you mention my name in your introductory remarks on February 6th, and also state that, while in Washington next week, I shall do all I can to bring about a repeal of the obnoxious ruling recently made by the Commissioner of Immigration."

Lastly, a letter was received by the writer from Dr. Geo. H. Simmons, the Editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* wherein he says:

"The resolutions presented to the Academy of Medicine are to the point, and express the opinion, I believe, of about ninety per cent. of the best men in the profession who have given thought to the subject."

If we impose unnecessary hardship on the tuberculous patient, the result will be that individuals feeling themselves in the earlier stages of the disease will shrink from seeking advice until they can no longer hide their condition, and then it may be too late.

Consumption is almost never inherited; on the other hand, predisposition to the disease may be inherited as well as acquired. It is one of the most frequent of all diseases. Though the mortality from it has been decreased in localities where preventive measures have been in vogue, and where sufficient hospital facilities have been provided, the average mortality from tuberculosis is still very high, every seventh death being due to that disease.

Consumption is most frequent among the poor, the badly housed, the underfed, the intemperate, and individuals debilitated by other excesses, disease, or certain occupations.

In the poorest quarters in New York the yearly mortality from tuberculosis is not less than 72 per 10,000 inhabitants. In the districts populated mainly by artisans of moderate income, it is 35 per 10,000, and in that portion of the city inhabited by the better class of workingmen the mortality is considerably lower (about 20). Among the residences of the wealthy people of New

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York, the mortality from tuberculosis varies according to the density of population from 5 to 16 per 10,000 inhabitants.

Pulmonary tuberculosis is the most curable of all chronic diseases. The sooner the patient submits himself to the doctor's care, the greater are his chances for a lasting recovery. Consumption, or pulmonary tuberculosis, is to-day cured not by quacks, patent medicines, nostrums, or other secret remedies, but solely and exclusively by the scientific and judicious use of fresh air, sunshine, water, abundant and good food (milk, eggs, meat, vegetables, fruit), and by the help of certain medicinal substances when the hygienic and dietetic means just mentioned do not suffice in themselves to combat the disease. Patients can be cured in nearly all climes where pure air is obtainable and where the extremes of cold and heat are not too pronounced.

There is no specific climate for consumption, and we have as yet no specific medicinal remedy. The thorough and constant medical supervision of the pulmonary invalid, immediate intervention when new symptoms manifest themselves or old ones become aggravated or do not disappear rapidly enough, the prescription of proper food and drink, can only be done by the thoroughly trained physician, either in a well-equipped sanatorium, or, if circumstances permit, in a suitably arranged private home.

With knowledge of the fearful prevalence of consumption, its cause and prevention, and the means to cure this the most dreaded of all diseases, what can and what should we do in our country to combat it? I shall endeavor to answer that question.

First, there should be in every city a tenement-house commission to improve the dwellings of the poor by making them habitable, sanitary, and safe.

Secondly, there should be a commission on factories and workshops to see that such places are sanitarily constructed and conducted, that the eight-hour law is obeyed, that a sufficient number of well-kept spittoons are placed throughout the buildings, that expectoration, except in spittoons, is punished, first by a fine and when repeated by dismissal.

Thirdly, there should be decently kept places of amusement where light beers and non-alcoholic beverages should be sold at reasonable rates, and all rational movements to diminish alcoholism, which is one of the strongest predisposing factors of tuberculosis, should be encouraged.

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Fourthly, there should be a special tuberculosis commission to prevent the development of tuberculous and scrofulous diseases in children. Its work should consist (1) in disseminating knowledge by lectures and the distribution of literature to young mothers, to prevent the development of the disease in infants; (2) in the supervision of public nurseries, orphan asylums, schools, and colleges, in regard to their sanitary construction and management; (3) in supervising the curriculum of schools to prevent too much mental work to the detriment of the physical development of the children; (4) in creating gymnasiums, playgrounds, and small parks, particularly in the densely settled districts; (5) in providing the school-children of poor parents with a substantial lunch at noon-time;* (6) in preventing child labor; (7) in caring for and educating tuberculous school-children in special school-sanatoria, situated near the seashore or in particularly healthy inland localities.

Fifthly, there should be, of course, in every locality a board of health, whose special duty in regard to tuberculosis should be (1) to disinfect the premises inhabited by a consumptive, upon the request of the physician or family; (2) to distribute literature teaching the prevention of tuberculosis; (3) to keep statistics regarding the morbidity and mortality of tuberculosis; (4) to supervise slaughter-houses, dairies, and milkshops, to prevent the spread of tuberculosis through infected food substances. Each case of tuberculosis should be reported to the health board by the attending physician; and, if the latter desires, a sanitary inspector should be sent to the patient's residence to give verbal instructions concerning prophylactic measures. The board of health should distribute gratuitously, or at cost price, pocket spittoons for the use of tuberculous invalids, and should also have under its observation the keeping in order of large fixed spittoons which should be abundant throughout the city. These latter could be arranged so that they might be constantly flushed by running water, and would thus neither offend the æsthetic taste nor become a source of infection.

* In Berlin, where the children of the poor, when attending school, are provided with meat sandwiches and a glass of milk for lunch, carefully kept statistics show that they gained from two to three pounds within two months, and did better intellectual work than ever before. In Boston, a similar experiment has been tried with most satisfactory results; there, however, the children receive a warm lunch, for which they pay from five to ten cents.

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Sixthly, each city should have a special tuberculosis commission for adults, composed of physicians and laymen, whose object should be to investigate all reported indigent cases of tuberculosis, to ascertain the financial standing of the patients, their sanitary and general environments, whether or not they should be treated gratuitously, and whether or not through the removal of the patient the family would become destitute, in which case the municipality would, of course, be obliged to care for them. Through this commission, the other members of the family should all be examined, so that, in case infection has taken place, the patients may be treated as early as possible.

Seventhly, every American city should have a sanatorium association or society for the prevention of tuberculosis. These societies should have for their object, besides the dissemination of knowledge through lectures and the distribution of literature concerning the prevention of tuberculosis, the furthering of the sanatorium movement—that is to say, to combine with the authorities in helping to create sanatoria for the consumptive poor adult and for those of moderate means in the various stages of the disease, seaside sanatoria for tuberculous and scrofulous children, and special tuberculosis dispensaries where ambulant pulmonary invalids can be treated.

Eighthly, the physicians, statesmen, philanthropists, and thinking citizens should combine their efforts to counteract the ever growing tendency of people to emigrate from the healthy rural districts and small cities to the crowded metropolises of the country. The family physician in particular has a great mission to perform in this connection. He should urge the younger members of a family, where there is a tendency to tuberculosis, to emigrate from city to country and take up outdoor occupations rather than remain in, or come to, large cities and pursue sedentary occupations.

Lastly, we need a general, federal tuberculosis commission, such as exists in England, France, and Germany, with its seat in Washington. This commission should be in touch with all the boards of health and sanatorium associations and societies for the prevention of tuberculosis. It should constitute the supreme head of the anti-tuberculosis movement in the United States. To it should be submitted for consideration and decision such subjects as: "Is bovine tuberculosis transmissible to the human race,

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and *vice versa?*" "What measures should be inaugurated to stop the spread of tuberculosis from cattle, if this source of infection exists?" "Is pulmonary tuberculosis a dangerously contagious, or only a communicable disease?" Such a commission should, of course, be composed of trained sanitarians, general practitioners, specialists, and competent statesmen.

These are the things which we will have to do if we ever hope to master this deadly foe, so happily named by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes "the great white plague."

But where shall we obtain the money to create such a thorough system of commissions, and enough sanatorium and hospital facilities for the thousands and thousands of consumptive poor who are in need of treatment? New York city alone has about ten thousand poor consumptives who ought to be treated in institutions. The existing hospitals can accommodate about eight hundred. No city in this country, nor in any other, is able alone to cope with the tuberculosis problem. In Europe, the royalty and the aristocracy of birth and finance have created hundreds of sanatoria, and these institutions have made their influence felt already in a marked reduction in the mortality from tuberculosis. We have no emperors, no kings, no aristocracy of birth in this country, and let us be grateful for it. We have something better. We have an array of philanthropists whose generosity has never been equalled. According to Dr. Rossiter Johnson, $107,360,000 have been given by American citizens for educational, religious, and general philanthropic institutions during the single year of 1901. All previous records have been outdone by this aggregate, the highest total for any previous year having been $62,750,000. It is a good augury that the first year of the twentieth century should have distinguished itself so remarkably. Our Carnegies, our Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Morgans, Pearsons, our Helen Goulds, Phoebe Hearsts, Jane Stanfords, (Mrs.) Emmons Blaines, have given us fortunes for universities, colleges, and libraries, and have thereby made us and our children their lasting debtors.

It is but natural that those familiar with the needs of the consumptive poor in this country, should look for help, in solving this difficult tuberculosis problem, to the large-hearted American men and women who make such noble use of their wealth. There are now, perhaps, plenty of libraries and colleges, and even gen-

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eral hospitals, everywhere; but there is a penury of good, model tenement-houses, where the average wage-earner could enjoy a cheery pleasant home without paying an exorbitant rent. There is a penury of public baths, which should for a moderate price be at the disposal of the people winter and summer, and for some hours in the evening. There is a penury of decently kept places of amusement, open all the year, where the laborer and his family may spend a pleasant Sunday afternoon and partake of non-alcoholic drinks. There is a penury of children's playgrounds, large and small parks. There is a penury of hospital and sanatorium facilities for thousands of poor consumptives who could be cured if only taken care of in time. Sanatoria for consumptive adults, as well as seaside sanatoria for scrofulous and tuberculous children, are a crying and urgent necessity for the majority of our large American cities. Such sanatoria are schools of hygiene and sobriety, besides being institutions for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. A dozen such sanatoria for the city of New York would render thousands happy and healthy, and make them bread winners and useful citizens. As the conditions are now, the majority of these are doomed to a certain and lingering death; and, if they are careless or ignorant of the necessary precautions, they will infect some of their own kin and neighbors. Could I but picture in these pages the dark, dreary rooms of the consumptive of our tenements, as I have seen them so often; could I but describe the sufferings of mind and body of these people, who must suffer and die, not because their disease is incurable, but because there is no place to cure them; could our generous and wealthy fellow citizens but see for themselves these conditions; instead of more new libraries, universities, and colleges, we would soon have better tenements, more playgrounds and parks for children, and an abundance of sanatoria and hospitals for our consumptive poor. May this appeal to our large-hearted and generous philanthropists not be in vain.

S. A. KNOPF.

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CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS OF THE SENATE: A REPLY.

BY WILLIAM H. MOODY, MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

MR. A. MAURICE LOW, in his article in the February number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, would reduce the government of the country to exceedingly simple terms. It is, in his opinion, an "inner circle" of Senators who are "in fact the government of the United States," and enabled "to reduce the House to a legislative nonentity and to keep the President in subjection." This opinion is sufficiently startling to challenge examination.

The conclusion thus expressed is reached by three propositions, which, if true, substantially prove the case—first, that the House of Representatives has become an insignificant factor in legislation; second, that the Senate dominates the President; and, third, that a limited number of Senators control the Senate. Certainly not one of these propositions will meet with universal or even general assent.

Whether the Senate has entrusted its powers to the control of a limited number of its own members, can be more intelligently discussed by some member of that body. Doubtless, experience, knowledge, ability, and those indefinable qualities which constitute capacity for leadership, count for much in the Senate, as they do elsewhere. Nevertheless, it has been supposed that there, to a degree unknown in any other legislative body, the individual members enjoy an equality of rights and powers. The ordinary observer of Senatorial action is less inclined to criticise the Senate for entrusting the control of its business to a few leaders, than for permitting by its rules and usages any one of its number, no matter how unimportant, to nullify the will of all the others. Such criticism is abundantly justified by Mr. Low's own observa-

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tions. The ability of a single Senator, of which Mr. Low cites illustrations, to obstruct and defeat a measure which he opposes, or to reject a nomination to office which is distasteful to him, has little tendency to prove that he is subject to an oligarchy of his own creation.

It is idle to deny and useless to exaggerate the importance of the Senate in our political system. It is to-day the most powerful of all conspicuous legislative bodies, with the single exception of the British House of Commons, where practically absolute legislative power is joined with executive power.

Nevertheless, the present power of the Senate is due not to encroachments upon the executive on the one hand or the popular branch on the other, but rather to its constitution and the functions which it lawfully exercises. Its importance can be accounted for as a natural result of legitimate authority, without resorting to the theory of usurpation.

The legislative power of the Senate is the exact equivalent of that of the House, with the single exception that the former cannot originate "bills raising revenue"—that is, bills providing for the laying and collecting of taxes, duties, imposts, and excises. With the unlimited right of amendment which the Constitution confers upon it, the Senate suffers little practical loss by the denial of the right to originate revenue bills. No Senate amendment to a revenue bill can be written into the law without the concurrence of a majority of the House of Representatives; and, whatever the importance of the right to originate revenue bills may be, it is a prerogative which the House has always jealously preserved, and even now is engaged in defending against the attacks of individual members of the other house. It has sometimes been hastily said that bills appropriating money must originate in the House, and apparently Mr. Low gives countenance to that opinion. Clearly, however, an appropriation may originate in the Senate and, in point of fact, frequently does so. Although by an almost unbroken usage the general appropriation bills which carry the great body of public expenditures originate in the House, the Senate constantly originates bills appropriating money for specific objects, such as pensions, claims, public buildings, and the like, and in doing so is entirely within its constitutional right.

In view of the powers of the Senate in which the House has no share, it may be regarded as unfortunate that the plan originally

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determined upon in the Constitutional Convention, by which full control of all bills raising and expending money was vested in the House, with a simple negative in the Senate, did not prevail. If the Convention had appreciated the importance of those special Senatorial powers, that plan doubtless would have prevailed, in the hope that thus a just balance between the two branches of Congress might have been preserved. It was intended to ensure such a balance, but experience has demonstrated that the importance of the right vested in the House to originate bills raising revenue was then overestimated, while the peculiar authority of the Senate was underestimated.

We must, however, accept the Constitution as we find it, and recognize that by its terms there is a practical equality between the two branches considered as mere legislative bodies. If there is any legitimate superiority of the one over the other, it must be sought elsewhere. It can be readily found in the two important respects in which the Senate shares in the executive power.

The framers of the Constitution, in their anxiety to guard against an excess of power in the President, required that all treaties should receive the assent of two-thirds of the Senate, and that the Senate should consent to the appointments of diplomatic officers, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointment is not otherwise provided for by the Constitution and laws. It was not seen clearly how important these functions would prove to be, nor was it appreciated how much they would tend to exalt the position of the Senate in our political system. As history has shown that the right to originate revenue bills has availed the House little in the contest for supremacy, so it has shown that, by its part in the treaty-making power, the Senate secures a firm grasp on the foreign policy of the country, and by its part in the selection of public officials materially affects domestic administration. It was from the first inevitable that the Senate, through the exercise of these powers, should grow great in comparison with the House which is denied all participation in them. In the exact proportion that our foreign relations become more extensive and far-reaching, and our domestic administration broader and deeper in its scope, the distance between the two houses will be widened. It is not at all strange, in these days when there are so many national questions touching foreign relations, that public interest centres upon that

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branch of Congress which has the right to deal most effectively with them. Nor is it to be wondered at that, as appointments to office become more numerous, and the offices themselves are sought with greater eagerness, the body which in so large a degree distributes patronage should attract the public attention.

It may be admitted, once for all, that, with the allotment of powers between the two houses which the Constitution makes, it is a hopeless aspiration for the House to expect to equal the Senate in authority and distinction. At least two of the most far-sighted members of the Constitutional Convention apprehended the great weight which the Senate would have in our political system, Colonel Mason of Virginia, and Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania. The latter, when it was proposed that the Senate should elect the President in addition to its other functions, said on September 6th:

"They are to make treaties; and they are to try all impeachments. In allowing them thus to make the executive and judicial appointments, to be the court of impeachments, and to make treaties which are to be laws of the land, the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers are all blended in one branch of the government. . . . With all those powers, and the President in their interest, they will depress the other branch of legislature, and aggrandize themselves in proportion."

Hamilton, on the same day, pointed out a more subtle influence which would tend to magnify the Senate, and which has done so to a degree understood only by those who observe the working of our Constitution at close range, when he said that the "mutual connection and influence" of the President and Senate would aggrandize both.

But, with all the advantages which have been described, the Senate has not dominated the President nor reduced him to "subjection" to its will. The contrary assertion has a strange sound, at the close of the administration of William McKinley, who, to an extent unknown since the days of Jefferson, exercised an influence over the legislative action of both houses of Congress. As Mr. Low shows, the Senate has jealously guarded its right to join in the making of treaties and the appointment of officers. Nevertheless, if a conflict should arise, the President, in a just cause, would have every advantage in an appeal to the ultimate source of political power, the people themselves. In spite of the indirect method of his election, the President seems to the people to be in an especial sense their representative, defender, and

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guardian. To this, the lives of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and McKinley bear witness. If the Senate has seen fit from time to time to amend the treaties which have been submitted to it by the President, it has been entirely within its constitutional right in so doing. If the independence of the Executive in making appointments has been diminished on the one hand by the constitutional requirement of approval of the appointments by the Senate, on the other the legislative independence of that body has been invaded by the President through the influence which pertains to the giver of such gifts. If there has been an unjust invasion of the rights of either, it is the legislative right which historically has suffered. Instances might be multiplied to prove this. Without resorting to recent times, it may be said that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment were accomplished by the use of the Presidential patronage; and the life of Hannibal Hamlin records that he spurned the offer of President Pierce of the control of all the New England patronage in return for his vote for the Douglas Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The Presidential office is to-day more powerful than ever in our history.

Mr. Low's assertion that the House has become an insignificant factor in legislation deserves some attention. Mr. Low says:

> "It has been shown that the Senate has equal power with the House over the control of appropriations; that it can create a tariff bill by the right of amendment; that it can prevent the enactment of any bill passed by the House; that it encourages members of the House to look for legislation in the Senate rather than in the House, where it rightfully belongs. One has never heard of Senators asking favors from Representatives."

Suppose this all to be true, then what of it? It means nothing. It may be said with equal truth that "the House has equal power with the Senate over the control of appropriations; that it can originate a tariff bill; that it can prevent the enactment of any bill passed by the Senate." It is true enough that the more rigid rules of the House, framed in the interest of economy in expenditures, have a tendency to send Representatives to their Senators to obtain amendments to an appropriation bill which would not be in order in the House; but no member of an important House Committee will ever assent to the accuracy of the statement that "one has never heard of Senators asking favors from Representatives." The quotations which have been made show

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not a superiority of one house over the other, but an equality; and the case is not strengthened by the fact, if it be a fact, that the correspondents of the newspapers no longer care to know the opinions of the members of the House on legislation. It would be invidious to cite the instances of members of the present House of Representatives; but it may be said with perfect safety that the correspondent who was indifferent to the opinions of Dingley and Reed in their day, would be likely to find some inaccuracies in his forecast of national events.

The power of the House remains to-day where it always has been. It has less authority than the Senate, but it has the authority which the Constitution confers upon it. The individual importance of its average member has diminished, and there are reasons for this that are not occult. They grow out of the constitution of the House, its physical environments, and the rules—miscalled "Reed rules"—which result from these conditions. The Senate has ninety members, the House three hundred and sixty-one. The unlimited liberty of speech which prevails in the one body, with its ninety members, and so much enhances the importance of the individual member, impedes and impairs legislation. If the same liberty existed in the other body, with its three hundred and sixty-one members, it could and would, unless controlled by public indignation, arrest legislation altogether. The individual importance and independence which are possible to a member of a House numbering ninety, are impossible to a member of a House numbering three hundred and sixty-one. In fact, the Senate permits to its members the passage of many a bill, by unanimous consent or without opposition, in the confident and assured belief that it will be defeated by the House; and if for one session the House should enact all the bills which pass in the Senate by the mutual courtesy which Mr. Low has described, the courtesy would cease forever.

The authority of the House, as a co-ordinate branch of the national legislature, exists unimpaired as the Constitution created it, but the authority of those who compose the House is sadly diminished. They have surrendered it to their leaders, in the supposed interest of the people and of effective and wise action. The limits of this article forbid much description of the process by which this surrender has been accomplished, of its reasons, and of the justification for it which is claimed but not universally

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admitted. The subject is extremely interesting, and deserves a consideration beyond the mere suggestions here possible.

There is proposed to every Congress more business than it can do. The twelve thousand bills and resolutions already introduced in the House will be largely added to before this Congress ends; and, of the total number, eighty or ninety per cent. cannot reach even the stage of consideration. In some manner, a selection must be made of those measures upon which action of some kind shall be taken. It is obvious that they who make the selection, who decide what shall be done and what omitted, are all-potent in directing the public business. In the House, this decision is not left to chance, but is guided by the operation of rules which may fairly be said to have grown out of the experience of a century—rules which, in their present form, were adopted ten years ago, during the first Speakership of Mr. Reed, and, except during the Fifty-second Congress, have been retained in substance by both parties since.

Certain business is privileged. In the words of the rules, the Committees having it in charge "have leave to report at any time," and the measures thus reported have the right of way over the legislative railroad. The privileged business of constant public importance relates to the right of members to their seats, the raising of revenues, appropriations for the maintenance of the government, civil and military, and for the improvement of rivers and harbors. After the disposition of privileged business, and of such other matters as may be acted on by unanimous consent or in some manner provided for by the rules, there are left a large number of bills touching subjects of great public interest. It is by the disposition of this class of business that the Committee on Rules obtains its importance, for it is by them that the selection out of it for action is made. That Committee determines, subject to the approval of the House, which is never refused, what bills shall be considered, how long they shall be debated, and how far, if at all, they may be amended.

Who, then, are the Committee on Rules, and why should such authority be vested in them? Mr. Reed, who did more than any other man to create this authority, called them when in opposition, "The Speaker and his two assistants," rightly dismissing from consideration the minority members, who are, in latter days, a useless survival of conditions which have passed away. The

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Speaker is elected, not because of abilities as a presiding officer, although he usually has them, but because of the qualifications he has shown as a leader of men. He becomes the real leader of the majority party which is responsible to the country for legislation; he has and he should have the power necessary to such a position; and he is and he should be responsible to the House and the country for its exercise. He selects his two assistants upon the Committee on Rules, because he has confidence in their wisdom, capacity, and discretion. He and they are in effect the House Cabinet, leading and directing, although not always controlling, the policy of the dominant party. Their power has grown out of conditions similar to those which developed the modern ministry in England out of a Committee of the Privy Council, and which have required, even in the Senate, the creation of the unofficial "Steering Committee"; for universal experience has shown that a numerous legislative body, no matter how respectably composed, without direction and leadership debates and disagrees, but does not effectively act.

The Committee on Rules does not ordinarily act arbitrarily, but rather after conference with members, with due regard to public opinion, and sometimes under the direction of a caucus. Nevertheless, that discontent exists among members regarding present conditions, cannot be denied. Very likely, the Committee is in a transitory stage and has not reached its full development. But, in the opinion of the writer, when that Committee is increased in number, brought into closer touch with all the members, and made more clearly representative in its character, even greater powers will be entrusted to it, with the corresponding responsibilities; and it will prove the best method of guiding and leading the action of a body as numerous as the National House of Representatives, working under the system of government by parties.

Such a system accounts for the lessened consideration that attaches to the office of Representative, which Mr. Low has mistaken for a decrease in the power of the House itself.

That the power of the House, as a co-ordinate branch of Congress, is undiminished, is abundantly proved by recent history. Long and irrelevant discourse is not permitted. It would not be possible, during the consideration of a Philippine tariff bill, for instance, to spend several days in gravely discussing what part of the country contributed the greatest number of soldiers to the

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Revolutionary War. But quick, sharp, pointed, compact, and relevant debate still flourishes in most admirable degree. The House acts, and it acts in quick response to the will of the country. It exercises a firm control over public expenditures, while giving respectful consideration to the amendments proposed by the Senate. Its Committees prepare appropriation bills with great care and after protracted consideration, and much the larger part of the bills are written into law exactly as they leave the House. Let the Sundry Civil Bill of the last session serve as an illustration. The bill of one hundred and thirty-six printed pages went to the Senate, carrying appropriations amounting to $59,605,908.21; and it returned with one hundred and fifty-six Senate amendments, adding $9,675,272.70 to the total. As the result of conference and action in the two houses, the Senate receded unconditionally from fifty-four, and conditionally from twenty-eight, amendments, and by mutual concessions the Senate amendments were reduced in amount to $2,190,000, and thus the bill became law.

During the period preceding the Spanish War, the House, under the lead of Mr. Reed, though against the wish of many of its aggressive members, supported the President against the Senate, and obtained for him the delay he desired and the country needed. Finally, in the contest over the crucial question of the recognition of the Cuban Republic proposed by the Senate, the House was victorious. Instances might be multiplied, but no good purpose would be subserved by enumerating the victories of one body over the other. The truth is, that each body gives and receives its fair share of the concessions, without which concurrent action would be impossible.

A critical examination of the legislative annals of recent times would demonstrate that the House is neither a negligible nor an insignificant factor in legislation, but, on the contrary, is manfully doing its share of the public work, and without usurpation or abdication faithfully performing the duties confided to it by the Constitution.

WILLIAM H. MOODY.

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THE QUESTION OF THE THEATRE.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS, PROFESSOR OF DRAMATIC LITERATURE IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

At the close of the memorable journey of the Comédie-Française to England in 1878, Matthew Arnold wrote a characteristic essay on the "French Play in London," in the course of which he took occasion to declare that "the pleasure we have had in the visit of the French company is barren, unless it leaves us with the impulse to mend the condition of our theatre." He asserted that the desire for the drama is irresistible, and that, therefore, we should "organize the theatre"; and he held up as model the organization of the Comédie-Française. He advised that a company of good actors be formed in London, and that to this company a theatre should be given, and also a grant of money from the Science and Art Department. He proposed that the condition of this grant should be an agreement on a repertory chosen out of the works of Shakspere and of the best modern British dramatists; and he added that it would be needful to appoint a government Commissioner to see that the terms of the agreement were carried out.

It is now nearly a quarter of a century since Matthew Arnold urged these suggestions with all his playful eloquence; and as yet, neither in Great Britain nor in the United States has anything been accomplished toward such an organization of the theatre as he had in view. But the subject has been incessantly discussed. Many and fervent have been the appeals of zealous and youthful spirits, first, to that intangible entity, the State, for a subsidy, and, second, to that alluring personality, the benevolent multi-millionaire, for an endowment. Fervent these appeals were, no doubt, but also not a little vague; and, perhaps, this is a chief reason why they have failed to persuade. Indeed, it is not un-

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fortunate, even for those having a reform at heart, that the man who holds the purse-strings should never be seduced by empty declamation, that he should be hard-hearted and slow-moving, and that he should be won over at last only after careful consideration of all the facts of the case.

Now, what are the facts in this case? What are the reasons which led Matthew Arnold to call upon his countrymen to "organize the theatre"? Why is it that there is in England and America an insistent demand that the theatre shall be either subsidized by the State or endowed by the wealthy? What are the conditions of the theatre in the English-speaking countries which call for amelioration? Apparently the theatre is flourishing; never were there more playhouses than there are to-day, and never were these various places of amusement more thickly thronged with playgoers, pleased with the entertainment proffered to them. There is no denying the sumptuousness, the propriety, and even the beauty of the scenery and costumes and decorations set before us on the stage nowadays. There is no doubt that we have many opportunities for observing acting which attains to a high level of technical accomplishment, even if actual inspiration and indispensable genius are as rare in the twentieth century as they have been in all its predecessors.

Even in the plays themselves there has been of late a distinct advance. Chatter about the decline of the drama there is now, as there always has been, and always will be. Euripides was still alive when Aristophanes declared the decadence of Attic tragedy; and Ben Jonson never hesitated to express his low opinion of those wonderful contemporaries of his, whose bold dramas have made the Elizabethan reign the noblest epoch in the history of English literature. Of course, there is no period which would not be crushed by a comparison with that illumined with the genius of Sophocles and with that irradiated by the genius of Shakspere. It is unprofitable ever to overpraise the plays of our own time; but it is unwise also to depreciate them unduly. Even if the acted drama of the English language at the beginning of the twentieth century is not equal in range, in skill, in power, to the acted drama of the French language in the middle of the nineteenth century, it has at least freed itself from the disheartening insincerity which characterized the plays in English that had been adapted from the French.

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As Matthew Arnold pointed out, the result of the effort to adjust a plot caused by French social conventions to the conditions of English life, was to produce in the attentive observer "a sense of incurable falsity." So long as the prevalent plays were adaptations of so fantastic an unreality, it was very difficult to take the theatre seriously, or to expect that the dramatist should observe life faithfully or deal with it honestly. In the quarter of a century since Matthew Arnold made his plea for organizing the theatre, this reproach has been taken away from the English-speaking stage. Adaptations from the French have almost disappeared; and when a foreign play is now presented in English, very rarely does it masquerade as an English play. It remains French or German; it retains its native atmosphere; it is a translation, not an adaptation. This is an immense gain; this is the first necessary step towards a revival of public interest in the drama of our own language. Our acted drama may be a poor thing, even now, but it is at least our own; it is no longer borrowed from our neighbor. Whatever criticism we may pass upon the "Aristocracy" of Mr. Bronson Howard, the "Gay Lord Quex" of Mr. Pinero, the "Liars" of Mr. H. A. Jones, the "Alabama" of Mr. Thomas, or the "Shore Acres" of the late Mr. Herne—and no one of these plays is an impeccable masterpiece—we must see in each of them a sincere effort to deal with life at first hand.

If the theatre is thus prosperous wherever the English language is spoken, and if the dramatists are again striving to handle the stuff out of which alone literature can be made, what need is there for any modification of the situation? Why cannot the stage be let alone to take care of itself? What call is there for subsidy or endowment? The answer to these questions is to be found in the statement that the theatre is now governed too much by purely commercial considerations, and that the art of the drama is the only one of the arts which is compelled to pay its own way, and which is forced to make its own living under conditions which limit its exertions to what is immediately profitable.

It is not bad for the artist that he has to earn his own bread, and that he is bound to satisfy the taste of his fellow-man; and it is not good for any art that those who practise it should be sheltered and coddled. No disadvantage has it been to us that the two greatest of modern dramatists, Shakspere and Molière, were

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each of them managers with a direct interest in the takings at the door. No advantage was it to anybody that Goethe was, by the grace of the Grand Duke, made independent of the public and allowed to do what he liked on the stage of the Weimar theatre, since the result of Goethe's independence of the public was that the Weimar theatre brought forth little worthy to live on the German stage. The arts are democratic, all of them; but none more so than the drama, since it is inconceivable without the assistance of the people at large. If any proof were needed of the insanity of the Bavarian King, it could be found in the fact that he liked to be the sole spectator of performances in his opera-house.

Yet the experience of history seems to show that it is unwise to leave any art wholly at the mercy of the money-making motives. Even in the English-speaking countries, where more is abandoned to private enterprise than is thought advisable among the Latin races, galleries have been built for the proper exhibition of the works of living painters and sculptors; and concert-halls have been erected for the proper performance of orchestral music. In New York, for example,—and only a stone's-throw from each other,—stand the Carnegie Music Hall and the Vanderbilt Gallery (of the Fine Arts Building), visible evidences of the aid willingly extended by the wealthy to the other arts. In Carnegie Hall, in the course of the season concerts are given by three or four different symphony-orchestras, the continued existence of which is conditional upon a large subscription or on a guarantee fund, substantially equivalent to a subsidy. And during the same winter months, a series of performances of grand opera, in Italian, in French, and in German, is given at the Metropolitan Opera House,—performances made possible only by a very large subscription from the box-holders, and by a reduction of the rental from the figure which the owners of the building would demand if they sought simply for a proper return on the money invested.

If men of means had not chosen to sink their money in the Metropolitan Opera House and in Carnegie Hall; if Major Higginson were now to withdraw his support from the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and if the public-spirited music-lovers of Chicago and Pittsburg were to refuse any further subsidy to the orchestras of which they are justly entitled to be proud; if music were to be deprived of all artificial assistance and forced to de-

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pend for existence solely upon the working of purely commercial motives—then, music would be exactly in the same position in which the drama is now. Good music would still be heard, it is true; but we may be certain that there would not be so many performances as there are now; and, what is more important, the performances would not be so adequate or so satisfactory, and the programmes would be more in accordance with the prevailing taste of the less cultivated portion of the public. The managers of concerts would be less likely to risk upon their programmes either the more austere of the classic composers or the more aggressive of the younger musicians; and they would tend to confine their selections to a small list of established favorites.

Much has been done for music; just as much has been done in other ways for painting, for sculpture, and for architecture. Nothing at all has been done for the drama. It is wholly dependent upon the law of supply and demand, and so long as this is the case, the manager will naturally seek to produce the kind of play likely to please the most people. He will perform it continuously, seven or eight times a week for as many weeks as possible. He will proclaim its merits as vehemently as he can; and he will advertise it very much as a circus or a sensational novel is advertised. He will be prone to turn away from any kind of play which is not so likely to please the largest portion of the public, which cannot be forced to a long run, and which cannot be boomed as a freak-fiddler is boomed. His aim will be to give the public what it wants.

In this last phrase there lurks a fallacy. There is no such entity as "the public" wanting a definite thing; or else we should not see the Irving-Terry company and the Weber-Fields company both playing to crowded houses in the same city at the same time. There are as many separate publics as there are separate attractions; these several publics intersect, and every individual probably belongs to more than one. For example, there is a very large public for Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and there is a far smaller public for the symphony concerts; but of a certainty there are a goodly number of persons with a catholicity of taste which will enable them to enjoy both these entertainments. The public which delights in melodrama and in musical farce is enormous; whereas the public which would care to see a performance of the "Oedipus" of Sophocles or the "Ghosts" of Ibsen,

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is very restricted—probably it is not more than enough to fill a small theatre two or three times in the course of a season. The public capable of a severe joy in the beholding of "Oedipus" or of "Ghosts" may be taken as one extreme; and the public which laughs hilariously at musical farce and which thrills sympathetically at melodrama may be taken as the other; and between these there are publics of all sorts and of all sizes,—a limited public for "Pelleas and Melisande," a public less limited for the "School for Scandal" and for "As You Like It," a public fairly large for "Hamlet," and a public extensive beyond all belief for "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The public for broad farce is larger than that for the comedy of manners; and the public for the comedy of intrigue, relieved by sentiment, is larger than the public for tragedy.

But the fallacy in the phrase "what the public wants" really matters little. Whether there is one homogeneous public or whether there are any number of smaller and intersecting publics is of no importance, so long as the theatre is controlled solely by the law of supply and demand like any other business. The manager has to present the kind of play which is calculated to please the largest number of possible spectators, and he will be likely to shrink from the kind of play which would appeal to a small public only, which cannot be forced into a long run, and which does not lend itself to circus-methods of booming. In fact, the conditions of the theatre being what they are now in New York and in London, the wonder is that the level of the stage is not lower than it is actually, and that the more intelligent playgoers ever have an opportunity to see anything other than spectacle and sensation. That we have a chance now and then to behold more plays of a more delicate workmanship and of a more poetic purpose, is due partly to the courage and the liberality of certain of the managers, and partly to the honorable ambition of certain of the actors and actresses, seeking occasion for the exercise of their art in a wider range of characters.

To those managers and to these actors and actresses we owe also casual presentations of a limited number of Shaksperian plays, tragic and comic, and also of a few of the old comedies. But these performances of the classics of English dramatic literature are infrequent; and, moreover, they are not altogether satisfactory, since it is rare to find the smaller characters in the hands of trained and competent performers. In the days of the two

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patent theatres in London, when Drury Lane and Covent Garden had a monopoly of the serious drama, the cast of a Shaksperian comedy was extraordinarily strong; and even in New York, a quarter of a century ago, the late Mr. Augustin Daly had a company so large that on one occasion it presented the "School for Scandal" at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, while the performers not needed in that play went over to Newark to perform "London Assurance." But the monopoly of the patent theatres in London was abolished long ago; and the large companies, such as Mr. Daly kept together for a score of years, have been broken up. Plays are now presented by companies, every performer in which was specially engaged for the specific part he has to act; and although this practice has advantages of its own, it does not tend to facilitate the reviving of the masterpieces of our older drama.

Thus the drama is at a grave disadvantage as compared with the other arts, owing to the absence of all outside aid. There are public libraries for the preservation of the masterpieces of literature, and there are public galleries and public museums for the proper display of the masterpieces of painting and of sculpture. There is no public theatre where the masterpieces of the drama are presented for our study and for our stimulation. It is true that we can read the great plays of the great dramatists; we can read them by ourselves at our own firesides; but how pale is a perusal compared with a performance, how inadequate, how unsatisfactory! Perhaps a mere reading may enable us to appreciate some of the purely literary beauties of the play; but it will hardly help us to apprehend its essential dramatic qualities,—the very qualities which give the play its true value, and which stand revealed at once when the play is presented in the theatre.

A true drama, comic or tragic, witty or poetic, is always conceived by its author in terms of the theatre; he means it to be played by players, in a playhouse, before playgoers. And every true drama loses more or less of its power when it is deprived of the theatre, of the actors, and of the audience. Recent revivals have proved that many a Greek tragedy and many a Latin comedy, remote as these may be from our modern modes of thought and disestablished as their technic may seem to us to-day, can shake off the dust of the book-shelves and start to life again with surprising vitality, when it is set before us on a stage by actors of flesh and blood. Whatever the impression produced upon the

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reader in the library by "Macbeth" and "As You Like It," by the "Alchemist" and "A New Way to Pay Old Debts," by the "School for Scandal" and "She Stoops to Conquer," it is not so deep, not so varied, not so lasting as that produced upon the spectator in the theatre. The frequent and liberal revival of the masterpieces of dramatic literature, English and foreign, ancient and modern, would be very expensive. In a pecuniary sense it would not pay,—any more than the exhibition of Rembrandt's "Gilder" would pay as a private enterprise.

So long as the theatre is governed chiefly by commercial considerations, we have no right to expect managers to take great risks for a very doubtful reward. Most of the managers will go on appealing to the largest public with melodrama and with musical farce; they will strive to make money out of sensation and spectacle; and in so doing they will be wholly without blame. From a minority of the managers, men of a wiser liberality and a finer taste, and from actors of a lofty aspiration, we shall get now and again a modern play of a subtler significance and an old play of a more poetic beauty; and for these guerdons we ought honestly to be grateful. So long as the theatre is left to the operation of the law of supply and demand, it is idle to look for a manager who will make it his business to produce plays which he knows cannot be forced into a long run, and who will take pleasure in presenting the masterpieces of dramatic literature as they ought to be presented. Without a subsidy or an endowment or financial support of some kind, he could hardly hope to pay his expenses.

A subsidy from the State was what Matthew Arnold proposed, and he suggested the establishment of a British Theatre on the model of the Théâtre Français. Most of the Parisian theatres are private enterprises, but four of them are more or less supported by the national government, two for music, the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, and two for the drama, the Théâtre Français and the Odéon,—the official title of the latter being the Second Théâtre Français. The Théâtre Français is a sumptuous playhouse owned by the State and assigned rent-free, with a large annual subsidy also, to the Comédie-Française, a commonwealth of the chief actors and actresses, who govern themselves more or less under the control of a director appointed by the government. The associates elect their successors; they engage the subordinate performers on salary; and they divide among

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themselves the annual profits of their enterprise. They are expected to remain members as long as they are fit for service; and then they can take a farewell benefit and retire on a pension. They have various committees of their own; but they generally leave abundant power to the director, who is the executive, and who is also a sharer in the profits.

Although it has had its ups and downs, the Théâtre Français is the foremost theatre of the world; and its company is incomparably large and gifted, most of the actors and actresses having been trained at the Conservatory, and having been chosen because of their skill in interpreting the tragedies of Corneille and Racine and the comedies of Molière and Beaumarchais. It gives seven or eight performances a week, and the newest play is never repeated more than four times in that period, and rarely more than three. One or two performances a week are always devoted to the classical drama, comic or tragic; and any one spending a single winter in Paris would have occasion to see half of the acknowledged masterpieces of the French stage. Upon the remaining nights are presented modern plays chosen from a vast and varied repertory. Comparatively few of the best plays of the last half-century were originally produced at the Théâtre Français, which, however, took them over after they had proved their value in other theatres. Although the Théâtre Français is continually experimenting with new pieces, in prose and in verse, by the foremost living French dramatists, its chief function is rather to be a museum of the French drama, ancient and modern; and its main reliance is more upon its repertory than upon its novelties.

The Comédie-Française is an institution which we may easily envy, but which we should find it very difficult to imitate. It is what it is, because it is a growth of more than two centuries. It is one of the only two institutions of the Monarchy which survived the Revolution with undiminished prestige; the other is the French Academy. It was not a creation of the King's, even when it was founded; it was only the consolidation, under royal control, of three companies of actors already existing as private enterprises. Even now, it is not so much governed by its statutes as it is ruled by its traditions; and we cannot hope to extemporize traditions. If it did not now exist, we may doubt whether it would be possible to establish it to-day, even in France, where everybody is educated to expect governmental supervision and

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support for all the arts. Still more may we doubt whether the result would not have been sadly disappointing if the British had taken Matthew Arnold's advice a score of years ago and had formed a company of actors, assigning to this body a theatre in London, a grant from the Science and Art Department, and a government Commissioner. As Bismarck said, "you cannot ripen fruit by setting lamps under the tree." No worthy rival of the Comédie-Française could be created off-hand by mere fiat.

But Matthew Arnold must have known how very unlikely it was that any attention would be paid to his advice. Indeed, we who speak English need not waste our time in asking for aid for the theatre from the government. We shall not get it, no matter how insistent our demand. And if we in America are wise enough to consider the situation carefully, we shall not seek government aid; because, if we were to get it, the last state of the drama might be worse than the first. In the one art in which the government has had to take an interest, and upon which it may even have exerted some influence, the result has only too often been sadly unsatisfactory, as all will admit who recall the pitifully pretentious United States Building set amid the beautiful palaces of the Chicago Exhibition. Although, as a people, we Americans seem to have a remarkable aptitude for art, we are as yet untrained to appreciate it; and we are as yet unwilling to pay proper respect to expert opinion.

The civil service of the nation and of many of the state governments is now highly efficient; but the civil service of most of our cities is in a less satisfactory condition; and it is from the city, rather than from the state or the nation, that a state-aided theatre would expect its support. It is true that, even in the cities, the outlook is encouraging; and the foul atmosphere of the spoils-system is lifting; but it has not now been lifted entirely; and no lover of the drama would face with composure the prospect of a municipal theatre in New York, where Tammany could turn it over to the control of some uncultured spoilsman. But no more words need be wasted in considering the advantages and disadvantages of a theatre supported by the government, as the Théâtre Français is in France. Such a discussion is academic only, since in the present state of opinion among the peoples that speak English, the debate can hardly have any practical result.

It is not by seeking government aid that the problem of the

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theatre can be solved in the United States or in Great Britain. Those who wish to do something for the drama must rely on themselves, taking pattern by those who have been able to accomplish wonders for the elevation of music. When this decision is once reached the question is easier of answer. What is it we really want, after all? We want to find a retort to the manager who tells us that he cannot afford to attempt certain more delicate forms of dramatic art, or to present the masterpieces of the drama as they ought to be presented. We want to help this manager to accomplish that which the existing purely commercial conditions of the theatre prevent him from attempting. What has to be done is to come to the aid of the drama, just as the owners of the Metropolitan Opera House came to the aid of the opera. The opera in New York is still a private enterprise, but it would be impossible to present the music-drama, with all the parts taken by singers of wide renown, if the manager were not sustained by the heavy subscriptions, and especially by the release of the rental which the owners of the edifice would expect if they had been governed solely by the desire to get the largest possible return for the money invested.

The same problem presented itself in Vienna and in Berlin, in spite of the fact that there were state-aided theatres in both cities; and the solution discovered by the Germans is at the service of the Americans and the British. It is very simple, but it is perfectly satisfactory. A body of subscribers raises a sum of money sufficient to pay the rent of a theatre, and they then turn the theatre over rent-free to a manager who will pledge himself to conduct it along certain lines, and to accord certain privileges to the subscribers. The manager will try to make the theatre pay him a profit, and he will try to attract the public; but it will be rather the smaller public that likes the better class of play than the larger public that is more easily pleased by sensation and by spectacle. With a subsidy equivalent to his rental, the manager would bind himself to give up the habit of unbroken runs,—the practice of acting the same play six and seven and eight times a week. He would be able to return to the earlier custom of the English-speaking theatre,—that of a nightly change of bill, such as we still expect at the opera, and such as we find at the Théâtre Français in Paris, at the Lessing Theatre in Berlin, and at the Volkstheater in Vienna.

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Under these conditions a play might still have a very long run, but its run would not be compacted within a brief period. Every new piece and every important revival would at first appear on the bills for three of the seven performances or even for four; and then as its attractive power waned, it would drop down to two performances a week, perhaps, and finally to one a fortnight. Thus two or even three different plays might be running at the same time, as is the case now at the Théâtre Français, where the "*Monde où l'on s'ennuie*" attained its five-hundredth performance about ten years after it was first produced, and where it can still be seen every winter. Thus it would be possible to bring out plays of delicate texture or of historical interest, certain to attract for a dozen or a score of performances, but not likely to draw full houses for a month at a time.

If the manager were wisely chosen and if the contract with him were for a term of years, three at least, or five, with the understanding that it would be renewed certainly if his management had approved itself to the subscribers,—then much should be left to his discretion. The contract would debar him from performing the more violent melodrama or the lightest forms of farce; and it might require him to revive every season two or three Shaksperian plays, either comic or tragic, and two or three of the older comedies of our language. He would not be required, or even expected, to mount these plays as elaborately or as expensively as is the custom when the appeal to the love of spectacle is an approved method of pleasing the unthinking crowd. And these standard plays, once produced with scenery and costumes and properties, sufficient but not extravagant, would be kept in stock ready for performance at any time during the season at a week's notice. At first, of course, the repertory would not be large, but it would become more varied and richer year by year. The manager would be ever on the lookout for the best modern plays, American and British, French and German. He would be able also to select from the large stock of pieces written in our language during the past twenty years which are unfamiliar to the latest generation of playgoers. His aim would be to get together a repertory of plays, old and new, which would make him somewhat independent in case the actual novelties he produced should not prove attractive. A solid repertory is invaluable to a manager; it is to him what a reserve-fund is to a banker.

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To do justice to so varied a repertory, a large and competent company of actors and actresses would be required,—not stars, of course, but ambitious and accomplished performers. There would be no need to pay extravagant salaries, as an engagement in such a theatre would soon be esteemed an honor. Furthermore the actors would be spared the wear and tear of a succession of "one-night stands"; and they would also enjoy the luxury of a home. The frequent change of bill would tend to decrease the unwillingness of young actors and actresses to appear in parts they might deem unworthy of them, an unwillingness which has some justification under the existing conditions, when a character may have to be sustained for a hundred times in succession. But when the bill changes every night, a performer sure of a good part on Monday and on Wednesday is less strenuous in his objection to performing a part not so good on Tuesday. The accumulation of a repertory would thus tend to strengthen the casts of the more important plays; and there might even be developed in time a disinterestedness like that displayed in the famous Meiningen company, where the foremost actors were accustomed to appear in the smallest parts.

If such a theatre were to be established in New York, its season should be at least eight months long. Perhaps the manager might be allowed the privilege of taking the company to other cities during the summer months; but the wisdom of this may be doubted, and perhaps a part of the rental might be earned by leasing the playhouse itself during the summer months to some other manager for the performance of lighter summer plays. But, if possible, it would be best to keep the theatre closed except when its own company was playing in it, and not to let the company play anywhere else. If possible, also, it would be desirable to build a special theatre as soon as the success of the scheme was assured,—a special theatre more spacious and more comfortable both before and behind the curtain than any now existing in New York. The house should not be too large for the subtler passages of comedy; but its lobbies and its aisles and its seats should all be upon a generous scale. If the theatre could succeed in accustoming a certain body of constant playgoers to feel at home within its walls, special nights might be set apart for the subscribers, like the Tuesdays of the Théâtre Français, to attend which is a point of honor in the fashionable world of Paris.

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Those who undertake to carry out any such scheme as is here suggested will have to face one serious difficulty, and they will have to avoid one grave danger. The difficulty will be that of finding a fit manager, who must be a man of taste, of tact, of experience, of executive ability, and of sufficient means to support the enterprise. The danger will be that of yielding to the assaults of the cranks and of the freaks, who will denounce any effort to come to the aid of the drama which does not promise to satisfy their demands. To appeal successfully to the intelligent public, the promoters of a scheme like this must avoid all pretentious affectation of "elevating the theatre" and of encouraging the poetic drama. They must refrain from all promises to bring out the more or less dramatic poems of Browning and of Maeterlinck, or to push forward the darker pictures of life shown in the dramas of Ibsen and Hauptmann. They must not expect to discover new dramatists; and they need count on no aid from the mere men of letters, who, as such, have no more knowledge of the theatre than the painters have. In other words, the promoters of this scheme ought to be practical men, taking a common-sense view and trying to improve the conditions of the actual theatre. They should look upward, but they should not aim too high at first.

These suggestions may seem very commonplace; and it may be confessed at once that they are not epoch-making. They do not point toward any theatrical Utopia, nor do they promise any dramatic millennium. They propose to make an easy beginning, in the belief that the best way to get the attention and the assistance of the public-spirited is to show that an improvement is actually possible. When interest is aroused by the realization of a modest programme such as is here set forth, then it will be time to be more ambitious. If the theatre here outlined were successfully established in New York and if it had proved its utility, the first step would have been taken along the right path,—at the end of which there might loom an American rival of the Théâtre Français. This is a prediction which one need not be afraid to make, in spite of George Eliot's remark that, "among all forms of mistake, prophecy is the most gratuitous."

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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THE PHILIPPINES—AFTER AN EARTHQUAKE.

BY STEPHEN BONSAL.

THE purpose of the following paragraphs is, not to add to the many and various opinions current as to the present condition of the Philippines, but to state plainly a few facts which I believe I ascertained during a tour of three months through the archipelago. In my journey I reversed the order of travel usually observed, in devoting but two weeks to Manila and the rest of my time to the more remote provinces and less accessible islands; and I did not confine my itinerary to those points which are touched by the inter-island steamers. The opportunity arising, I crossed Batangas, the disturbed country near Manila, on horseback, and visited the stockades of Samar where the outposts of our pacified possessions are living in an almost constant state of siege. Having travelled extensively in Malay countries, and having lived for months at a time among Malays, I venture to believe that I am more able to understand, or rather less likely to be deceived by, their somewhat subtle modes of expression, than the average American who has not enjoyed this preliminary experience. I think I know when they love and when they hate, when they are reconciled to existing conditions and when not, and under this impression I have no hesitancy in asserting that there is no fraction of public opinion, such as it is in the Philippines, that is pleased with our administration, not even the Federal Party, a puppet of our own creation. Consequently there exists no group of men upon whom we can shift our burden of responsibility, or ask to share it. The thinking Filipinos are war traitors from the highest to the lowest, and that very great majority who do not think at all follow their leaders blindly.

What was wanting to a perfect understanding of the situation, even after I had seen many phases of it at close range for myself,

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was an official statement of our status in the islands, divested of the diplomatic phraseology in which such statements are usually enveloped. This note of sincerity was at last sounded, but only as a consequence of a great convulsion of nature. On the morning of December the fifteenth, Manila was visited by an earthquake of longer duration and of greater force than any which has occurred within the memory of the present generation. It lasted for a minute and twenty seconds, during which the massive mediæval walls that surround the city cracked like gingerbread, the great stone monument to Magellan swayed to and fro like a sapling, the lofty images fell from their vaulted niches, and the bells in the church towers tolled their peals of alarm with no assistance from the bell-ringers. Fortunately, the earth vibrations increased and diminished gradually, there was no jolt at the end or counter current met with, and consequently we had few casualties to deplore. When the excitement was over, I joined a launch party skimming over the placid mirror of Manila Bay, and it struck me upon the moment that some barrier not of masonry had been broken down and that men spoke with a frankness I had missed before.

A certain well-known Pacificator of Provinces confessed that, though not a cruel man, if a tidal wave had to follow upon the earthquake, he hoped it would sweep with overwhelming force over a certain district where, despite frequent announcements of peace, the rebellion rages. "We might drown them out, but this rubbing-out process is proving too expensive." And a certain civil administrator, not to be outdone in candor, confessed for his part that civil government had been a mistake; that the thirty civil governments of provinces did not rest upon the consent of the governed, but upon the bayonets of our soldiers; that the decrees of the civil administration, despite the roaring force of type-writers which fill the palace, and the subtle agency of the card catalogues, are not honored beyond the range of our rifles; that every Filipino in government employ, either out of misguided patriotism or from fear of assassination, contributes part of his salary to the insurgent treasury. "In conclusion," he added, "despite the prognostications of peace and prosperity from Manila, varied by announcements that they have already arrived, and the hopeful far-sightedness manifested in Washington, the only change that I observe in the situation during the last year is that the rebellion has become chronic, and that, through the

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treason of native civil servants, our Government has become saddled with the support of the insurrection, as well as with the expense of combating it."

The following pictures of the state of the islands, the condition and efficiency of the military and civil governments, must, owing to the exigencies of space and time, be superficial and far from comprehensive; yet, if they invite a closer study of the situation, which is serious though by no means desperate, by those who alone can relieve it, they will serve a useful purpose; and the writer may yet live to journey through the pacified Philippines and report upon their prosperity—a commission given him last September, which, for obvious reasons, he was unable to execute.

In the archipelago, we have forty or fifty thousand soldiers divided up into between five and six hundred scattered garrisons and flying columns. Owing to the short time of service and the vicissitudes of an exasperating form of warfare, these men are continually moving about. The very great majority of them, despite incessant "hiking" through jungle and morass, have never seen an insurgent "plain," though all have seen here and there a comrade fall, shot or even stabbed in the back, by an unseen, elusive foe. This has been the story of our military activity since the day when, despite their fairly good conduct, the Tagals were swept off the field, their more or less organized army only surviving as guerilla bands. Since then, our State troops have been succeeded by the national Volunteers, the regulars of the old army by the new regulars of the enlarged establishment. While the conduct of all our troops and their morale throughout all these changes, under most demoralizing conditions, have been good, our military success has not been so uniform or so overwhelming as is generally believed. In adopting guerilla warfare, the insurgents put into operation tactics the most suitable to the country and for bringing into play their own best fighting qualities; and the result has been that they have met with some few successes, upon which we certainly have laid no undue emphasis. There is nothing analogous to the kind of warfare thus imposed upon our troops in the recent experiences of the army. It has had to be learned and at great cost; and, as always in tropical warfare, experience is bought by a corresponding loss of vigor. Our system remains the same to-day as it was three years ago. We send into the field but two combinations, either fresh troops and green officers, or ex-

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perienced officers and worn-out men. It is a thousand pities that, up to the present, no way has been devised, under the army regulations printed or unwritten, of putting columns of fresh troops in the field under officers experienced in Philippine warfare.

Coincidently with the proclamation of civil government in certain provinces, there have taken place a revival of the forces of rebellion and a falling off in the number of districts under complete military control. I believe this change in the situation is due, in a great measure, to our premature change of policy, which may have been devised to meet political conditions at home, certainly not to meet those existing in the islands. To illustrate the disadvantages of the dual administrations—for in no province has the civil government entirely superseded the military rule—I will state at length some of the conditions existing in war-ridden Batangas, when I rode across Malvar's country last November. Batangas, where the most savage phase of uncivilized warfare is in progress, is surrounded on all sides by provinces which we have been pleased to place under civil government. In these provinces, the respective spheres of influence of the military and civil authorities are the same as those which exist between the Governor of New York and the commanding officer at Governor's Island. The Governor may be, and often is, an insurgent only a few weeks in from the bush, while the commanding officer may be, and often is, a veteran of three wars fought in the defence of our country. When a band of insurgents in Batangas is hard pressed by our soldiers, when they have bushwhacked an army train, shot down teamsters, cut to pieces a small detachment, or murdered a lonely signal-corps man, there intervenes between them and the protection of a slow-going civil administration only a short hike of five, ten, or fifteen miles. So they store their guns in bamboo logs, put on amigo clothes, and, once beyond the borders of Batangas, amuse themselves with cock-fighting and fiestas, like all the other *hombres*. The arrest of a man upon suspicion or for military reasons, in one of the so-called civilly administered provinces adjacent to Batangas, is met with a great outcry at such tyrannical procedure, and it is not seldom stopped by writ of *habeas corpus* issued, may be, by that judge who has recently been caught, though not exposed, by the authorities in helping to smuggle insurgent arms and literature into the country. It is undeniable that the insurgents of Batangas avail themselves of the circumstances

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favorable to their cause, as above outlined, in a large measure. They establish their store-houses, their powder-mills, and their hospitals in these provinces, and, above all, their rest-houses and *cuartels*. In Malvar's country, I learned a very curious circumstance which I have not heard mentioned before. It is not merely because he is acclimated that the Filipino withstands the arduous work and the hardships of active campaigning better than our men. It is because when he has been "out" for two weeks he rests for six; and, if he does not feel quite secure in or near his own home, he journeys along the Batangas Highway the few miles that lie between the region where war wears its most murderous face and the Alsatia of the civilly administered provinces.

During my stay in Lipa, the capital of the most civilized district of Batangas, and indeed of the whole island, I received a very forcible object-lesson of how conditions such as these are costing us the flower of our army, besides making our colonial administration and ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of the Eastern world. Of the twelve officers forming the mess at Lipa during the five months preceding my visit in November, five had been killed—all shot in the back from ambush—and three had died of fevers resulting from active campaigning in the rainy season.

That warfare of a particularly savage description prevails in Samar is now notorious; on the other hand, the general impression that peace prevails in the other provinces is entirely erroneous. Hardly a day passes without a fight in Tayabas or in Laguna; and the lists of casualties that appear from time to time, finely printed and obscurely placed in the columns of the daily press, tell to those who care to learn how wide is the range and how high the cost of our desultory guerilla war. A private letter that reached me only a few days ago from Mindoro, the large island off the Batangas coast, gives a graphic picture, from an unimpeachable source, of conditions there, where according to some accounts peace reigns. My informant says:

"The people here are becoming more and more *insurrecto* every day. Acting under the orders to destroy every town and village from which we are fired upon, or where we discover insurgent cuartels, we have burnt down all the towns and collections of houses that were standing when I saw you last, with the exception of two. Under a strict interpretation of our orders, these two should be destroyed; but then we would have no shelter ourselves."

The casualties in the Sixth Infantry testify to the fact that,

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now and again, there is plenty of fighting in Negros, though that rich island has been pacified time and again on paper. Just at present, many plausible schemes for developing the resources of Negros are being placed before the American investor—schemes for building railways through valleys of wonderful fertility; for digging out harbors that, when the digging is over, will be capable of sheltering all or nearly all the merchant vessels afloat; for electric trams to bring within easy reach of commerce the ore from the mountains, the hardwood from the forests, and the cane from the fields. These schemes are, possibly, all as good as they are plausible; they may pay posterity, but no one should invest under the impression that Negros is pacified, without knowing that, in a sense, our control and our government of at least half the island are merely nominal. If I were investing in Negros, I would like to know how Ruffino and Papa Issio feel towards the enterprises in which I was interested. These gentlemen are certainly magnates of the first rank in Negros, and would, doubtless, resent not being consulted. After an infinite amount of labor and many casualties, we have succeeded in capturing Padre Juan, who, together with the above-mentioned patriots or brigands, ruled Negros for many years under the Spaniards, as they are ruling it to-day. It should be understood exactly what the American occupation of Negros means. We have installed a civil government that confines its activity to the coast towns, where it rests upon the rifles of a few scattered companies of the Sixth Infantry. The officers and men of this gallant regiment have done wonders, but even leaders like Byrne and Kennon cannot work miracles. Half of this island has never been occupied or even traversed by American troops, and it remains in the almost undisputed possession of Prince Ruffino and Papa Issio.

The surrenders in Cebu, Panay, and Bohol, which characterized the last days of General Hughes's command over the department of the Visayas, are much too recent to warrant the expression of an opinion as to their value. In the Philippines, surrender is inspired by many and wonderful motives, and the act itself is often misunderstood. At times, the surrender seems to be merely a tribute of personal regard to the departing American commander. Sometimes, the insurgents come in to secure the thirty silver dollars which we pay for almost any kind of rifle they may bring with them. Not seldom, the jungle patriot has a good time

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in town, where the creature comforts he craves are cheap, and then returns again to the mountain or the jungle with a new rifle more in keeping with the requirements of modern warfare than his former one, and which he can easily purchase with the premium paid for his discarded weapon.

If Panay, where it seemed to me the inhabitants were more peaceably inclined, remains quiet for the next few months, it may be fairly regarded as pacified; but at the present writing, northern Luzon is the only part of the archipelago where peace prevails or where the work of subjugation seems to have been complete. Here not a single hostile shot has been fired for ten months, except by a handful of notorious ladrones. This result is due to the severe but just rule which Major-General Wheaton has exercised over these provinces, with inflexible purpose in peace as in war. I had several conversations with General Wheaton touching the permanence of these conditions in his original department of northern Luzon, which General Chaffee has quite recently extended to embrace the new department of the northern Philippines. The impression I took away from these conversations was, that General Wheaton does not regard his achievement as permanent, so long as there are bands of insurgents roving about almost at will in the provinces of Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas, who may at any moment strike northward into the recently pacified district, with results which no one can foresee.

The conditions prevailing among the Mohammedan people of Mindanao, of Jolo, and the other Moro islands, should not be confused with the foregoing picture. Their government presents a problem that is quite distinct, one that for the moment, fortunately, is not very pressing. We seem to have won their sympathies from the first by the fact that we expelled the Spaniards, and from their impression, based upon observation and report, that we are not Christians. Almost without exception, the officers charged with the difficult task of meting out "unequal laws" to these savage people have acquitted themselves well, and the result—peace such as has not been known in this part of the world for generations—has not been secured at the expense of principles. No attempt has yet been made to free the domestic slaves, because there is reason to believe that they themselves would resent this interference with their present careless existence, as did the slaves of Zanzibar who protested to the English on the occasion of their

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recent emancipation that they could not long survive the reproach of being masterless men; but the crime of kidnapping and the marauding expeditions made for the purpose of securing slaves have been almost entirely suppressed. Much of our success in this quarter is due to the happy isolation of the Moro islands, which has made interference from Manila and Washington almost impossible. The recent completion of the cable has given rise to many dark forebodings, not, let us hope, to be realized.

The Moros are quite as secretive as the Tagals and the Visayans. They can keep their own counsel well, and it is hard to tell what they are planning, or whether they are pleased or displeased on the whole with American sovereignty. To judge from appearances, they are so divided amongst themselves by family and tribal jealousies, that a combined effort on the part of all would seem out of the question; still, as we are learning farther north, the hatred of the white man is a great dissolvent of ancient animosities. I came away from Mindanao, where I enjoyed the unusual advantages of a visit to some of the Great River sultans, and a glance at members of the redoubtable Lake Lanao Confederation assembled at Malabang on market day, with more cheerful views, both as to what has been done and what may be done in the future than are entertained by most observers. The Moros certainly have many rifles, those of Mindanao alone at least ten thousand. It is held by those responsible for the maintenance of law and order that we may be confronted any day by an uprising, which it would require an army of ten thousand men to suppress, and to-day there is not a third of that force available. If the missionaries of many sects who are assembling in Manila are permitted to invade the Moro country, the green flags will be unfurled, and we shall have a Holy War on our hands in a minute.

Certainly, I did not escape the thrill of pride which ran through the American people at the announcement made last spring of a liberal educational policy for the Filipinos. It was confidently predicted that the perverse sympathies of the natives would be won over by this great and magnanimous stroke. Simultaneously with the gift of civil government, public schools were to be opened throughout the archipelago; and, as a matter of fact, in an incredibly short space of time, over a thousand college and normal-school graduates were engaged and shipped across the Pacific to begin their labors. Their appearance upon the scene, we were as-

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sured upon the highest authority, would immediately inaugurate an era of good feeling and quench the last embers of rebellion.

I regret that my conscience does not permit me to say that these dreams have been realized up to the present writing. Zorilla, who was certainly not a clerical, once said in the Spanish Cortez, that a single friar was worth more in the matter of preserving the sovereignty of the Philippines than a regiment of cavalry. Might we not reasonably hope to obtain beneficent results by the powerful instrument of our public-school system, where brute force, as well as vague promises and honeyed words, had alike proved futile? The idea was so promising that it is a pity greater care was not exercised in the manner of putting it into execution. As a matter of fact, our educators were hastily selected, hurried on transports like troops mobilized to meet a military emergency, and landed upon coral strands scattered all over the archipelago, where not the slightest preparation had been, or in such a space of time could have been, made for their reception. That our educators did not starve in the first days of the intellectual campaign is due to the generosity of army officers and members of the Civil Government.

Before the transports even reached Manila, it was found, as was to be expected, that a minority of the teachers so hastily gotten together were not qualified, at least in the important matter of character, to inculcate American ideals in our little brown wards, and on one transport at least, the behavior of eight of the selected teachers was such as to justify the authorities in refusing to allow them to land, and they were sent back to San Francisco. What legends would have sprung from these regrettable incidents had our frail educators of both sexes been friars! If but a few of the stories which are d[illegible] Manila, and even appear from time to time in the is[illegible]rue, the casual investigation as to character which the un[illegible]ght failed to pass might with advantage have been extended an[illegible]e more rigorous.

Whatever may have been the faults of the religious corporations which under Spain had such a large share in the government of the islands, such mistakes as these could never be brought home to the friars, whose activity and efficiency, in one direction at least, even the radical Zorilla praised. No friar was ever sent to a distant, isolated station in the Philippines, until he had undergone a searching examination in the matter of morals, as

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well as in the humanities. Before his appointment to a parish, your friar had not only to show a good command of the Spanish language, which a large proportion of the people throughout the islands speak and understand, but he had to speak and preach fluently in the language of the particular people with the care of whose souls and education he was charged. Little wonder that, when, thus equipped, the friar reached the field of his life's labor, the people worshipped him as a god.

I was so much pleased with the generous impulse that inspired this educational movement, that I quite lost sight of the fact, I think we all did, that after all it is the Insular Treasury, and consequently the Filipinos, who are meeting the expenses occasioned by our generosity. But, when I began to investigate the effect of our educational programme, I saw that the Filipinos had not lost sight of this important fact for a moment. Their attitude, so far as ascertainable, seems to be that of a man who has his feelings under good control, but who at the same time sees no particular reason why he should pretend to be pleased with people who have taken his money and squandered it in a way he was far from desiring, and without paying him even the empty compliment of consulting his wishes merely as a matter of form. Undoubtedly, it is true that a large number of the Filipinos grudge the salaries paid to a majority of these American teachers. They, usually so cautious in expressing themselves on the acts of their government superiors, do not hesitate to say that the importation of teachers *en masse* was against their wishes, as it was against the advice of the highest educational authorities of the American Government in the islands, who favored the sending of a smaller and a more carefully selected corps and their employment in normal schools to educate native teachers. They assert that the American teachers are paid five and six times the salaries of such of the native teachers as are still retained, without being able to do the same amount of work. With the money that is now going to Americans, they claim that from five to six thousand Filipino teachers could have been much more advantageously employed; and, though they admit that this number of native teachers, eligible and competent, could not have been secured immediately, they argue that, by means of the normal schools which they desired and the educational advisers of the government recommended, the deficiency could soon have been made good. With these impressions preva-

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lent, it is not strange, however disappointing, that our educational programme, from which we expected such great and pacific results, should be regarded as the entering wedge, perhaps the advance agent, of an era of carpet-baggers.

Of the thousand and odd teachers who are now in the Philippines, I had the advantage of visiting only some twenty in their school-houses. These, with possibly one exception, were worthy and creditable appointments, at least for school work at home. Though my personal experiences range over all the islands where the educational work is in progress, and though the school-houses were visited without plan and at random, it may be dangerous and not wholly justifiable to generalize from the experiences of the few to the many. But I can say that, of the teachers I saw, all seemed discouraged, and not a few frankly admitted it. This was not due entirely to the uncouth and wholly undesirable surroundings in which they were called upon to live, but also in a measure to the rapidity with which the Filipino's thirst for knowledge is assuaged. Two weeks after the schools were opened, many of the teachers told me, the attendance dropped off as much as thirty and forty per cent. Of the truants, some admitted frankly that they were disappointed. They had expected to learn English in ten days or two weeks. The girls averred they had to wash camisetas and sarongs for their mammas, the boys that they had been sent out to gather cocos for their papas, which stories and many others amounted simply to the fact that they were tired of school; and they never came back to it. Many of the teachers did not hesitate to say that they came out to the islands under a misapprehension of the circumstances; and some were living, and with good reason, in daily fear of being killed. In many I noticed strong commercial proclivities; and the expression, "There ought to be money in this, or that," with reference to nearly all the products of the islands, was on many tongues. One fair teacher, who with me was watching a Visayan boy impale blue butterflies upon a long darning needle, remarked: "There ought to be money in them." The Filipinos, too, hear these observations so naturally made, and perhaps attach undue importance to them. They notice that a considerable number of teachers have already resigned, some to enter upon business pursuits; and idle words, coupled with incidents like these, serve to keep alive the mistrust of the native, and to renew his fears of that com-

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mercial exploitation of the islands which his leaders assert will follow immediately upon the final overthrow of the insurrection.

Down in Leyte, the educational campaign is being carried on under the superintendence of a man of exceptional capacity. I met him on returning from the scenes of the massacres in Samar; and, I confess, I grudged him to Leyte. I would have preferred to see his energy and ability employed nearer home, where they would, I am sure, bring greater and more solid results. He has translated into Spanish and Visayan all the choicest legends in our history. One day, I was brought into the great nipa schoolhouse at the history hour, when the Malay children are inoculated with the virus of American history and American ideals. The lady teacher was recounting to the rows of stolid little boys (with the low foreheads and the shifty, roving eyes of their race) the immortal story of George Washington and the cherry tree. For a moment, I succumbed to my surroundings, and a pleasurable thrill ran through me. After all, this was the real thing. It might not go down very far, or stay very long, but this is what we came to the Philippines for.

Behind the bench of stolid-looking boys sat three mothers, all dressed in starchy camisetas, come to see how their offspring progressed.

"'Who cut down the cherry tree?'" read the teacher, while her Visayan assistant put it as best she could into that poverty-stricken, Malay dialect, and the boys began to show signs of interest.

"'I cannot tell a lie, father, I did it with my little hatchet.'"

As the Visayan interpreter worked away on the idea, brighter and brighter rays of intelligence shone from the faces of the little Malay boys; and one of them shouted out: "*Chunkoi!* the booby! he could not tell a lie!" and all the others chorused their contempt, while one of the mothers leaned over toward me to show that she had not missed the point of the story, and said: "*Pobre madre!* poor mother, to bring into the world such a booby son!" There are certainly not many Visayan mothers who have to bear this cross.

For a moment the lady teacher maintained her academic composure and vocabulary.

"The superintendent says this little book contains everything necessary for American citizens to know. Sometimes I think it

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is rather beyond the boys. . ." Then, interrupting herself: "Say, ain't it fierce? Well, I wrote to Manila yesterday asking for transportation home immediately; and if I can only get a boat *viâ* Suez, when I get home I will have girdled the globe anyway."

Truly that would be something of great value, to the teachers especially; but it is hardly all we expected to accomplish when we undertook our generous educational campaign at the expense of the Filipino treasury.

I have touched only upon a few of the more striking aspects of this perplexing situation, which has already cost us five hundred million dollars and many thousands of lives, without our having even a policy to show for it. I believe that in all history no instance can be found of another nation, however young, however full blooded, permitting itself such an extravagance with such poverty of results. To-day, able men are working in the Philippines to make the archipelago a white man's country; others, with equal authority, derived from the war powers of the President, are striving to make of the islands a closed preserve, a kind of brown man's paradise where no Caucasian may dare to show his face. Which shall it be?

Certainly, without unity of action no permanent results can be achieved. Undeniably, the conditions in the islands to-day are unsettled to the verge of anarchy. This our colonial house, divided against itself, cannot stand for long, because some day the at present indispensable support of the army will have to be withdrawn. What is needed in the Philippines is a policy, to be steadfastly adhered to and carried out without fear or favor—a policy based, not on the discordant views which are proclaimed on every side, especially by those who have never visited the islands, but inspired by a statesmanlike survey of the situation and a dispassionate study of the mass of as yet undigested data supplied by those who lived amid, and not merely visited, the scenes they describe. The selection of this policy is a privilege that falls to the present Congress. For the sake of our prestige and our peace it cannot longer be postponed.

STEPHEN BONSAL.

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THE PUBLIC DEBTS OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

BY HAROLD COX.

THE most important of all British Possessions outside the United Kingdom is the Indian Empire. This proposition is true whether the question be looked at from the point of view of population, of revenue, of trade, or of military efficiency. The population of the Indian Empire on March 31st, 1901, was 291,600,000 people, as compared with a population of about 5,300,000 for the Dominion of Canada, and 3,800,000 for the Commonwealth of Australia. The public revenue of British India alone, apart from the revenues of the Native States, in the year ending March 31st, 1900, was £69,000,000, as compared with £29,000,000 for all the six Colonies of the Commonwealth of Australia in the corresponding fiscal year. The public revenue of Canada cannot fairly be brought into this comparison; for, in Canada, most of the railways are privately owned, and the amount of public revenue is *pro tanto* diminished. The actual revenue of Canada in the last fiscal year was £10,000,000. The value of the total external trade of India, imports and exports together, in the same period was £151,000,000, as compared with £141,000,000 for Australia, and £79,000,000 for Canada. In the year 1900, the value of the British exports sent to India was £30,000,000, to Canada £7,600,000, and to Australia £21,600,000.

As regards military efficiency, so far as the Colonies are concerned, no precise figures can be given; for the colonial armies are still in a rudimentary condition. The figures for India are striking. The Indian government maintains a British army of 75,000 men and a native army of about 140,000. Both forces are constantly kept in a high state of efficiency, entirely at the expense of the inhabitants of British India. In addition, several of

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the Native Princes maintain small armies, trained and officered by Englishmen. These forces can be drawn upon for the general service of the Empire. As far as numbers are concerned, the volunteers sent to South Africa by Canada and Australia were barely a fourth of the trained white troops supplied by India. In the case of the British operations in China, the burden of the campaign fell almost wholly upon native Indian troops.

Lastly, it may be added, in no spirit of paradox, but from deliberate reflection, that the devoted loyalty of the dark-skinned races of India to the occupant of the throne of England, is not less valuable as an asset of the Empire, than the loving allegiance of colonists of British blood to the countries they still call Home.

With this preface, to explain the relative position assigned to India, it is possible to proceed to examine the Indian Debt.

India.—That debt dates back to the time when the government of India was still in the hands of the Honorable East India Company. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the constant wars waged by the Company for the extension of its dominions rendered considerable borrowings necessary. By the year 1821, the total registered debt of India stood at £33,000,000, taking the rupee as being then equivalent to the tenth part of a sovereign. The greater part of this debt had been raised in India at the rate of six per cent. The policy of borrowing in India rather than in England was continued until after the Mutiny, but the credit of the East India Company so greatly improved that in 1854 the rate on the greater part of the debt was only four per cent. In the year immediately preceding the Mutiny, the total debt was £49,000,000, of which the greater part was due to military expenditure. The expenditure incurred in the suppression of the Mutiny involved a further and a rapid increase of the debt, nearly doubling the total in the course of six years. The growth of this older portion of the Indian debt can best be shown in tabular form:

DEBT OF INDIA UNDER THE COMPANY AND FOR THE FIRST SIX YEARS OF CROWN RULE.

	Registered In India.	In England.	Total Debt.	Interest.
1820–1	27,300,000	5,700,000	33,000,000	1,900,000
1856–7	45,500,000	3,900,000	49,400,000	2,000,000
1862–3	63,800,000	31,800,000	95,600,000	4,300,000

It will be noticed that the annual payment for interest in the six years following the Mutiny increased even more rapidly than

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the capital borrowed. Practically the whole of the new debt due to the Mutiny had to be borrowed at enhanced rates.

Until 1850 the East India Company did very little to develop the resources of the country by constructing either roads or canals, and still less railways. A considerable improvement was effected under the governor-generalship of Lord Dalhousie, but progress was abruptly stopped by the outbreak of the Mutiny. That event convinced the most doubting of the importance of improved means of communication; and as soon as peace was restored a vigorous policy of public works was undertaken by the government. In defence of the action of the Indian government in this respect, it is only necessary to add that, unless the state had itself undertaken, or initiated, these works, they would never have been attempted. Even so the government of India shrank in many cases from the full responsibility of itself managing great undertakings, which in England were and are habitually left to private enterprise. The government, therefore, in the case of many of the more important railways, attempted a compromise, by inviting private companies to construct the necessary lines, subject to a guarantee from the state. Other great works, such as canals and trunk roads, and also several railways, were from the outset constructed by the state itself. The principle was laid down that roads and public buildings should be constructed out of revenue, while railways and canals, which would themselves yield a direct revenue, were to be constructed with borrowed money. In addition, as the loans of the guaranteed railways have fallen in, the companies have been bought out by the state with money borrowed for that specific purpose.

It is impossible to trace the increase year by year with any satisfaction to the reader; because part of the money was borrowed in rupees and part in sterling, and the relation between the two standards of value was so constantly changing, during most of the period under review, that no simple method of showing totals can be devised. In the figures given above, the rupee has been uniformly taken at one-tenth of a sovereign, and this method gives sufficiently accurate totals until about 1873. After that date, the rupee dropped rapidly, until it became in 1894 worth little more than one-twentieth of a sovereign. The free coinage of silver at the Indian mints was then abolished; and, by reducing the supply of rupees, the value in exchange was gradually raised

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to one-fifteenth of a sovereign. Further measures have since been taken to fix the rupee as nearly as possible at that point, and in the published accounts of the Indian government the sovereign is now officially reckoned as the equivalent of fifteen rupees. On this basis, it is possible to give a statement, in pounds sterling, of the position of the Indian debt on March 31st, 1900.

INDIAN DEBT (IN POUNDS STERLING).

		Annual charge for Interest.
Permanent	67,300,000	1,593,000
Unfunded	4,500,000	
Railways	104,500,000	4,184,000
Irrigation	22,800,000	897,000
Other obligations, including savings-bank deposits, etc.	13,100,000	355,000
	£212,200,000	£7,029,000

If these tables be compared with the table given above showing the state of the debt in 1863, it will be seen that, in the course of the past 37 years, the ordinary indebtedness of India has been very considerably reduced, namely from about £90,000,000 to about £70,000,000, and that the interest charge on the debt during the same period has been reduced by more than half.

The only question that remains is, whether the profits obtained from the railways and irrigation canals do really cover the interest upon the money borrowed for their construction or purchase. The answer is in the affirmative. The state lines in India have proved, on the whole, a most profitable investment.

On the other hand, the guaranteed railways, though working at a profit to the companies that own them, have involved the state in a loss, because of the high rate of interest guaranteed, and because of the fall in the rate of exchange since the date when the contracts were made. Up to 1900, the loss on the guaranteed railways more than wiped out the profit on the state railways; but in that year the state realized a net gain upon the whole system. So that the Indian railways are in no sense a burden on the taxpayer, but contribute a substantial sum to the revenues.

The financial results of the irrigation works undertaken by the Indian government are even more satisfactory. On some of the larger works, the profit realized amounts to nearly ten per cent. on the capital outlay; on the smaller works, it amounts to an average of about five and a half per cent. The figures for the year

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ending March 31st, 1900, show that the net gain to the state from the canal system was £640,000.

To sum up: since the re-establishment of order after the Mutiny, the government of India has appreciably reduced its ordinary debt, and has built up a magnificent system of state railways and canals, which give a handsome return upon the cost of construction. The net revenue they earn amounts to £1,090,000. If this be subtracted from the cost of the ordinary India debt, it will be seen that the net cost of the whole debt of India to the taxpayers of the country is just over £500,000 a year. This sum is more than covered by the present loss upon the guaranteed railways. In the year 1907, that loss will altogether cease, and the Indian government will probably then be in the happy position of possessing a debt which costs its taxpayers less than nothing.

The Dominion of Canada.—The federal government of the Dominion of Canada upon its formation in the year 1867, immediately took over most of the debts of the constituent provinces, and has since taken over other provincial debts. It has also spent freely out of capital upon works of public utility. The Dominion government has also lent money on interest to various commercial undertakings, principally railways, and these assets appreciably reduce the gross indebtedness. The government further possesses certain assets amounting to about £4,000,000 on which no interest is paid; and these also are officially claimed as an offset against the debt. The broad position may be stated as follows:

DOMINION OF CANADA.

	Gross Debt.	Assets.	Net Debt.
1867.....	£19,400,000	£3,500,000	£15,900,000
1900.....	£72,100,000	£16,900,000	£55,200,000

In the above statement, the term "assets" is officially limited to floating assets, which may be presumed to be realizable. Practically, however, the whole of the money borrowed by Canada has been spent upon public works of a productive character.

Prior to Confederation, there had been expended on railways and canals £11,000,000, and on other public works £2,300,000. Since Confederation, the Dominion government has spent on railways £27,500,000, on canals £12,700,000, and on other public works £9,600,000. Thus on railways and canals alone the total expenditure is £51,200,000, as against a net debt of £55,200,000. Unfortunately, this expenditure is, for the most part, only indirectly profitable. The government railways in Canada are only a

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small part of the total railway system—1,511 miles out of a total of 17,657—and they are not the most profitable part. The realized profit on the government lines in the year ending June 30th, 1900, was only £22,700, on a paid-up capital of £13,330,000. The large sums paid by way of subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway also appear to yield little or no direct return; and the expenditure upon canals seems to be in the same category.

In order to ascertain the net cost of the Canadian debt to the Canadian taxpayer, the railway and canal receipts and expenditure must be brought into account, and also the receipts and expenditure (apart from capital expenditure) upon public works. Taking all these items into account, the cost of the debt for the last fiscal year works out to about £2,580,000, of which £514,000 represented payments to the sinking-fund. Deducting this, the net annual cost of the Canadian debt may be stated in round figures at £2,000,000. The tax revenue of Canada in the same year was just over £8,000,000; so that the annual cost of the debt was one-fourth of the tax revenue.

In addition to the Dominion Debt in Canada, several of the provinces have debts of their own, namely: Quebec, £4,631,000; Nova Scotia, £565,000; Manitoba, £573,000; British Columbia, £1,202,000. In the other provinces, the assets exceed the debts.

The Commonwealth of Australia.—The task of ascertaining the indebtedness of Australia is rendered comparatively simple by Mr. Coghlan's admirable annual volume on the Seven Colonies of Australasia, namely, the six colonies of the Continent of Australia (including Tasmania), and the island colony of New Zealand. As the six are now federated into one Commonwealth, and as the seventh has expressed an emphatic decision to remain outside, it will be more convenient here to treat the Commonwealth of Australia and the Colony of New Zealand separately.

When the Commonwealth was constituted, by an Act of the Imperial Parliament which came into force on January 1st, 1901, the federal government did not, as in the case of Canada, take over the debts of the constituent colonies, nor has it yet had time to incur any debt upon its own account, though a loan of a million sterling was announced last year. The indebtedness of the Commonwealth is, therefore, only the aggregate of the debts of the separate states. The growth and present magnitude of these debts are shown in the following table:

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DEBT OF THE SEPARATE STATES OF THE COMMONWEALTH (IN MILLIONS STERLING).

State.	1861	1871	1881	1891	1899–1900
New South Wales	4.0	10.6	16.9	53.0	65.3
Victoria	6.3	12.0	22.4	43.6	49.3
Queensland	.1	4.0	13.3	29.5	34.3
South Australia	.9	2.2	11.2	20.3	26.1
West Australia	—	—	.5	1.6	11.7
Tasmania	—	1.3	2.0	7.1	8.4
Aggregate for the Commonwealth.	11.3	30.1	66.3	155.1	195.1

The increase of indebtedness here displayed is enormous; and, unfortunately, the population has not increased at anything like the same rate. In the year 1861, the aggregate indebtedness of the colonies that now make up the Commonwealth worked out to £9 13*s* 8*d* per head of the population; in the year 1899-00, that figure had risen to £52 2*s* 2*d*. Even such an increase as this would not be a matter for regret, if the borrowed money had all been profitably invested. This is not the case. Some of the money that was so easily borrowed on the London market has certainly been spent with more regard to the demands of politicians than to the economic needs of the country. As Mr. Coghlan gently remarks: "The plethora of money has been harmful in many ways, the most apparent being the construction of not a few branch railways in outlying and sparsely settled districts, which do not pay even their working expenses."

The construction of such lines has been plausibly defended on the excuse that they help to develop the country, and render possible the settlement of a large population. That plea may have been reasonable in the early days of colonial development, when it was so far the policy of the colonial governments to encourage immigration that they even borrowed money for this express purpose. But at present the policy of the Australian states is largely controlled by labor leaders, who—in the supposed interests of the working classes—wish to keep that huge, undeveloped Continent barren of people. In those states where this policy prevails, there is no immediate prospect of the so-called pioneer railways ever repaying the money spent upon them, for the natural increase in the Australian population has now become extremely slow.

Nor are the main lines of railway in Australia sufficiently profitable to cover the loss upon these subsidiary lines. The following table shows the financial results of state railway building:

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AUSTRALIAN RAILWAYS.

	Length of line open. Miles.	Capital cost.	Net loss or gain on capital cost after paying interest.
New South Wales	2,811	£38,500,000	—0.14
Victoria	3,218	39,600,000	—1.12
Queensland	2,801	19,300,000	—1.34
South Australia	1,736	13,000,000	+0.04
Northern Territory	145	1,200,000	—4.91
Western Australia	1,355	6,900,000	+2.35
Tasmania	438	3,600,000	—2.68
Commonwealth	12,504	£122,100,000	—0.60

It will be seen from the above table that, out of the total Australian debt of £195,000,000, the sum of over £122,000,000 is accounted for by the cost of building railways, and that on this sum a net loss is realized. The remainder of the debt has been incurred for such purposes as water supply, telegraphs, roads, bridges, and harbors. These works are, doubtless, all beneficial to the country, and some of them yield a small direct revenue to the state; but in no case do the investments appear, as yet, to be profitable in the commercial sense. There is thus a net charge for interest, which the taxpayer has every year to make good. In round figures, the account appears to stand as follows: The gross annual charge for the interest and management of the Australian debt was, in 1899-00, £7,590,000. From this gross charge must be deducted the contribution towards interest charges obtained from the working of the railways, water supply, etc.—namely, £4,540,000. Thus, the net charge on the Australian taxpayer for the Australian debt was just over £3,000,000. In the same year the revenue derived from taxation was just over £10,000,000. In other words, thirty per cent. of the taxes raised in Australia is spent in meeting the annual cost of a debt which was incurred—not to meet the expense of great wars—but to construct works intended for the most part to be in themselves profitable.

New Zealand.—The indebtedness of the Colony of New Zealand has increased even more rapidly than that of the colonies now federated in the Commonwealth of Australia. The figures are:

NEW ZEALAND'S DEBT.

Year		Per Head. £	s.	d.
1861	£601,000	6	1	4
1871	8,901,000	33	6	9
1881	29,659,000	59	4	2
1891	38,845,000	61	5	3
1899–1900	47,874,000	63	2	5

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A considerable portion of the debt incurred is due to expenditure upon railways—namely, £17,000,000 out of £47,000,000. A further sum of nearly £5,000,000 has been expended upon other public works—namely, telegraphs, light-houses, harbors, and water supply to the gold fields. The remaining £25,000,000 of the New Zealand debt is accounted for by revenue deficiencies in various years, and by the military expenditure incurred in the suppressing of the Maori risings.

The New Zealand railways (2,104 miles open) show a net loss of 0.37 per cent. on their capital cost. Some of the other provinces give a balance of receipts over working expenditure, but the relationship of this balance to capital outlay is not shown. The gross annual charge for the New Zealand debt is £1,750,000. Deducting from this the contribution available from railway receipts and kindred sources, there remains a net charge of, roughly, £1,100,000. The tax revenue of New Zealand is £2,900,000; so that the annual cost of the New Zealand debt to the taxpayer is as much as thirty-seven per cent. of the total tax revenue of the colony. In comparing this figure with that for the Commonwealth, it must be borne in mind that part of the New Zealand debt was incurred in suppressing the Maori risings.

It is interesting to recall a forecast made by Sir Francis Dillon Bell in 1882. Speaking at the Royal Colonial Institute, he then estimated that the population of Australia and New Zealand in 1900 would be 7,000,000 persons, and he added:

> "It would require our debt to be £230,000,000 in the year 1900 to maintain the same proportion to population as it bears now, and it is, of course, quite needless for me to say that there is not the remotest chance of our adding 135 millions to our debt in the next eighteen years, or anything like it. I am well within the mark in saying that 150 millions will be the outside we shall then owe; while, even if our progress should be no faster than during the last ten years, our revenue will not be far from 50 millions, and our commerce nearly 270 millions."

It is dangerous to prophesy. The total debt of Australasia has increased by far more than the figure which Sir Francis Dillon Bell regarded as impossible, and it now stands at £243,000,000, instead of his estimate of £150,000,000. The population is not 7,000,000, but 4,600,000; the total revenue is not £50,000,000, but £34,000,000; the total trade is not £270,000,000, but £161,000,000. These are contrasts over which Australasian politicians would do well to ponder.

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Cape of Good Hope.—The debt of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope on January 1st, 1900, was £27,884,000; and, in addition, the colonial government was surety for a debt of about £3,000,000, raised by various corporate bodies within the Colony. On the other hand, the government was the owner of 1,990 miles of railway and other valuable public works.

Taking the last fiscal year before the outbreak of the war, namely the year ending June 30th, 1899, the comparison between debt charges and railway and other similar receipts works out as follows:

Net revenue from services rendered.....	£1,432,000
Charge for debt	1,310,000
Profit to the taxpayer.....	£122,000

This very satisfactory result was largely due to the handsome revenue obtained from the main Cape Railway, which was then the principal route for passengers and goods passing from and to the Transvaal. In the future, it is possible that a considerable part of this lucrative traffic may be diverted to the Natal and the Delagoa Bay railways, and that possibility has long been the cause of some anxiety to Cape financiers. In the present condition of South Africa, however, it is impossible to speculate with any advantage upon what may happen in the future.

The tax revenue of Cape Colony in the year under review was £2,359,000, and the population about 1,600,000, only about 400,000 being whites.

Natal.—The public debt of Natal on June 30th, 1899, was just over £9,000,000. The cost was fully covered by the railway profits.

The West Indies.—The British possessions in the West Indies comprise almost as many separate Colonies as there are separate islands, and some of the islands are smaller than an average English or American county. It would, therefore, be merely tedious to enumerate their debts separately. Nor is the total indebtedness very serious. Including in the term "West Indies" both British Guiana and British Honduras, the total debt for all these Colonies comes to £5,300,000. Out of this total, Jamaica alone accounts for just over £2,000,000, and British Guiana and Trinidad for nearly £1,000,000 apiece. The total public revenue of the same group of Colonies amounts to £2,576,000; so that the public debt is just equal to two years' revenue. It is worth while to add that these Colonies are subject to the close control of the

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Home Government, exercised through the Colonial Office, a fact which probably explains the comparative smallness of their debt.

Other Colonies.—The same consideration applies to other Colonies under the direct rule of the Crown, in whatever part of the world they are found. Ceylon, for example, has a debt of only £3,662,000, as compared with a revenue of £1,727,000, and the debt is entirely covered by profitable public works. The debt of Mauritius is about £1,200,000, as compared with a revenue of £560,000. The debts of Hong-kong, Malta, and Gibraltar are insignificant; and Singapore, Cyprus, and several other small Colonies have no debts at all. On the other hand, the little Colony of Newfoundland, which possesses full rights of self-government, has succeeded in piling up a debt of £3,610,000, against a total revenue of £350,000. Nor have the inhabitants of Newfoundland —who are not numerous enough to fill an ordinary London parish—the satisfaction of knowing that by borrowing money their government has been enabled to earn revenue. There is practically no public revenue in Newfoundland except that derived from taxation, and the finances of the Colony appear to be in a chronic state of embarrassment. The Dominion of Canada has more than once offered to come to the aid of this little Colony, on condition that it will enter the Canadian Federation. But the Newfoundlanders prefer to enjoy their poverty and their pride.

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